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**MEDIA COMMERCIALISATION IN ESTABLISHED AND EMERGING  
DEMOCRACIES:**

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**A comparative analysis of newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria.**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for**

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## **LISTS OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION**

<b>NCNC</b>	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun
<b>NPC</b>	Northern People Congress
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>CPE</b>	Critical Political Economy
<b>ELT</b>	Elections
<b>EL EDUC</b>	Election Education
<b>EOU</b>	Electorate reactions to the election
<b>PPA</b>	Political parties
<b>VOA</b>	Voting agency
<b>VRG</b>	Voters' registration.
<b>AGRIC</b>	Agriculture,
<b>BQU</b>	Bureaucratic Quality,
<b>BUID&amp;RECON</b>	Building and Reconstruction
<b>CORP/CRIME</b>	Corruption and Crime
<b>ECONS/FIN.</b>	Economics and Finance
<b>EDUC</b>	Education
<b>ENVIR</b>	Environment,
<b>GAP</b>	Government appointment,
<b>GTMC</b>	Government ministries or civil service
<b>INSG/SECU</b>	Insurgency and security
<b>POLS</b>	International Politics INT
<b>INAUG</b>	Inauguration
<b>MAN. /TECH</b>	Manufacturing and Technology
<b>MIL/PLCE</b>	Military and Police
<b>PEP</b>	Power, electricity/petroleum
<b>ROL</b>	The rule of law
<b>S/E/C</b>	Social \entertainment\ Culture
<b>TRANS/RC</b>	Transportation and road construction
<b>WEL/UNEMP</b>	Welfare/unemployment
<b>NZA</b>	The first analysed New Zealand newspaper by alphabetical order
<b>NZB</b>	The second analysed New Zealand newspaper by alphabetical order

<b>NGA</b>	The first analysed Nigerian newspaper by alphabetical order
<b>NGB</b>	The second analysed Nigerian newspaper by alphabetical order
<b>NGC</b>	The third analysed Nigerian newspaper by alphabetical name
<b>NGD</b>	The fourth analysed Nigerian newspaper by alphabetical name
<b>HEC</b>	The Human ethics committee
<b>GOVT. POLS. ACTS</b>	Government political activities
<b>APC</b>	Alliance for Progressive Congress
<b>PDP</b>	People Democratic Party
<b>NBA</b>	Nigerian Bar Association
<b>NMA</b>	Nigerian Medical Association
<b>NLC</b>	Nigerian Labour Congress
<b>CDHR</b>	Committee for the Defence of Human Rights
<b>CD</b>	Campaign for Democracy
<b>ASUU</b>	Academic Staff Union of Universities,
<b>NANS</b>	National Association of Nigerian Students
<b>NGO</b>	None Governmental Organisation

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate the thesis to God Almighty, the Beginning and the End of all things in my life.

Also, to my awesome parents who believe so much in education and sacrificed to give the needed foundation, Mr and Mrs Adedayo and Odutola Odunsi.

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the portrayal of political news in selected commercialised newspapers, on the September 2014 national election in New Zealand and the March 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The study uses three relevant communication theories. First, the public sphere theory advocates for the essence of a newspaper in a democracy as a sphere of public deliberation and discourse. Next are the four media roles in a democracy, which are the monitorial, facilitative, and collaborative and the radical, adopted from the normative theory of the press, to evaluate the process of journalists and editors gathering and framing of political news in an election and the levels of portrayal? The critical political economy theory establishes the commercialised newspapers' cultural and economic roles and its challenges in a democracy. Finally, the framing and social reconstruction of reality theory, was used in chapter five to justify the adopted methodologies for the research.

Two research methods, the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative in-depth interview, were used to answer the four research questions asked. The questions were on the levels of portrayal given to issues, differences and similarities, process and challenges, sources of funding, training and influence, on representative/participatory democracy and government political activities as reflected in the political columns and by political journalists and editors of New Zealand and Nigerian commercialised newspapers.

From the quantitative content analysis, major findings reveal that in New Zealand the types of articles mostly used to portray political news are news stories and letters to the editors among the other nine types of articles. The media role that predominates is the facilitative role which shows that the media draws a range of perspectives into their media space during the election and citizens rated highest among types of sources cited for articles on representative/participatory democracy. In Government political activities the focus was highest on building reconstruction as a result of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes. Interview data also reveals a stronger ethical basis, standardised process of gathering news and power relations balance among the journalists, editors and other sources in democracy, although challenges also abound around the introduction of online newspaper versions. These levels and kinds of portrayal were rated to have positively impacted on democracy in New Zealand.

In Nigerian media, however, the news stories are significantly more prevalent than the other types of articles, with the length short and focus more on monitoring Government representatives, who form the major category of sources under representative/participatory democracy. In the Government political activities, media roles peaked at monitoring, type of articles peaked at news stories, and Government Representative peaked for sources.

The interview data shows the processes and values journalists and editors in New Zealand use to select political news, which is human interest and wide appeal. However, the Nigerian newspapers practitioners cite government spoke person more and views the electorates as 'ordinary man' when discussing political issues. Some of the challenges faced in New Zealand are the impact of the newspaper's website on the purchase of hard copies and lack of enough trained personnel to cover an election. Editors and journalists mention lack of job insecurity, threats to life, and some unethical practices such as inducements as part of the challenges encountered in covering political news in an election year.

The study concludes that in New Zealand media the commercialised political media space is narrow in focus in relation to the quantity of media discourse on the election. But there is evidence of multiple

voices dominant within the narrow space, while Nigerian commercialised political media space is broader in its use of space but has a very minimal number of voices featured in the political discourse. The former appears to be disposed towards representative/participatory democracy than the latter. The two countries share a similarity in their placement or positioning of the political news within the structural set-up of their newspapers. Their journalistic approaches to gathering political news are similar during their respective elections, but each country meets different challenges.





## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The press is a powerful force for the promotion of democracy (Salzman, 2015). The role of the media in any democratic society is often considered very important. This role could be in promoting citizens' participation, and engagements with the elected public office holders through information dissemination (Skovsgaard & Arjen, 2013). It is also a popularly acknowledged view that the mass media have an important role to play in the maintenance and development of democracy (Charles, 2013).

Ideally, the news media's role is to:

Provide the public with in-depth information, guide their political decision-making, act as a watchdog against abuses of power and offer a forum for the exchange of opinions, experiences, and perspectives (McMillan, 2013,p.1).

These functions help the public to understand the complexities of social and political issues, within the local and global space.

Other scholars have compared "information dissemination in a democracy to what oxygen is to fire" (Phillips & Witschge, 2012). The survival of one depends on the other (Street, 2011). An uninformed voter cannot use her vote for maximal benefits nor challenge the ruling power to account. That is why democracy and the independent news media have developed side by side, Salzman (2015), and "why any threat to the survival of related news in the public interest is also a threat to democracy" (Phillips & Witschge, 2012, p.18).

The primary value of the news media is to build democracy, but this value often becomes its weakness, when resources needed for the presentation of news are tight (Baker, 2002). The news media narrows reporting during an election. The process of gathering political stories which is; how pieces of information eventually become news, selected, and organised becomes affected (Entman, 1993; Shoemaker & Reese, 2011; Tuchman, 1978).

The media report news daily about government activities which helps to shape democracy. Achieving this lofty goal and expectation from the press is often a dilemma. The challenge exists because "quality news production and feeding relevant information

to societies” on a regular basis is an expensive process (Phillips & Witschge, 2012,p.18). It requires quite a number of highly trained personnel, organised to respond to every change in national and international political issues (Mellado & Rafter, 2014).

The media serve as the link between the government and the governed by providing information about the opinions, views, or reactions of the governed to the actions and inactions of the government (Kemp, 2013). The media are expected to represent, and present opinions expressed by the public about government policies and programs, thus earning for itself the title of “the voice of the voiceless” (Odunlami et al., 2009,p.5).

Newspapers are commercial enterprises and so must recoup part of their cost of production through sales and advertising revenue. Advertising has often kept the value of news far below what it takes to produce (Phillips & Witschge, 2012; Vos & Li, 2013). Some scholars agree that the economics of media production, distribution and consumption make the commercialisation of the media an unavoidable reality (Mwangi, 2008; Sotiron, 1990). This commercialisation happens at four levels, which involves content, the journalists, the media companies, and the media markets (Wadbring, 2013).

Furthermore, the mass media usually enjoy the dual acknowledgement as a social institution and industry (McChesney, 2000a). Herein lies the problem. McQuail (2006) buttress the fact that the media are entrusted with the sacred mandate to fulfil with varying degrees of voluntariness and explicit commitment, the absolute importance that goes beyond their immediate goals of making profits and providing employment. Among the duties expected from the media is the sustainability of the political sphere in a democratic society.

This expectation of the media is akin to the fiduciary or trustee model, which is also called ‘public journalism’ used to refer to the media being held in trust while providing their traditional products of news, views, information, and entertainment (Haas & Steiner, 2006; Voakes, 2004). This performance qualifies the media as the ‘fourth estate of the realm’ (Hampton, 2010).

Howbeit, the media are directed, motivated, and controlled by the manifest principles of the bottom line (Heineman et al., 1990; Self, 1975). The overriding goal of the press, according to this school of thought is that of profit maximisation and increased returns on investment of the owners (Habermas, 2006). The “recent journalism practice notices

that, news is increasingly becoming a commodity, valued for its role in informing or persuading the public on political, social, cultural and economic issues” (Asogwa & Asemah 2012, p.27). News commodification is achieved by trading news readers attention to advertisers and the copy prices to news producers in exchange for the much-needed information (McManus, 1994) Invariably, “in modern journalism practice, the news is commercialised” (Asogwa & Asemah 2012, p.27).

Opinions vary among media scholars on the propriety of the dual concepts of the media. The first concept is the media’s trustee role in the sustenance of democracy, which is also referred to as the fourth estate of the realm. The second concept is their goal towards profit maximisation. But “the debate is no longer a normative question of the propriety of commercialisation of the media rather it is coming to terms with the costs of a media system weighed in economics at the expense of social responsibility to society” (Habermas, 2006,p.261).

However, there is a gradual paradigm shift from the emphasis on "public good" to "commercial value" of media products which has put a mark on the public interest concept of the mass media. The implication is that the media are often seen as an industry rather than a social institution by the public (Odunlami et al., 2009,p.5).

Nonetheless, scholars have different views on media commercialisation that is the organisation and financing of media industries. Such views range from corporatisation, conglomeration, and capitalism which are variants of public ownership, state ownership and sole proprietorships (Hardy, 2014a; McChesney, 2000b). This thesis seeks to examine the effects of media commercialisation in emerging and established democracies, in order to verify the argument. The appraisal will be done by comparatively examining the newspapers portrayals of elections and democracy in the selected countries.

## **1.2 RESEARCH GAP**

There are three significant concerns involving this study. These are: the impact of commercialisation on newspapers; journalists and editors' roles in election news coverage; and the different contents and dissemination of news in the context of established versus emerging democracy. Three main approaches are used to examine these concerns. The first is the description of the content in terms of topics and roles of a commercialised newspaper in a democracy. The second is the parallel dimension of

examining two different types of democracy which are the established and the emerging democracies. The nature of this study is comparative which explains the approaches used. The third is the comparison between the views of the newspapers' journalists and editors on the processes, challenges, funding and training in covering political news.

The overall topic is far from new. A search of the literature has revealed an enormous array of studies on media and democracy, (see for example, Baybars-Hawks & Akser, 2012; Chomsky, 2006; Gingras, 2012; Graber, 2003). Moreover, comparative media studies have also had an enormous level of examination by scholars, (see for example Charles, 2013; Ciaglia, 2013; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2012; Luengo & Coimbra-Mesquita, 2013; Mishra, 2008; Moe & Larsson, 2013; Murthy, 2012; Shehata et al., 2011; Vincze et al., 2011).

Among the four levels of effects of the commercialisation of the media, which involves content, the journalists, the media companies and the media markets, as proposed by Wadbring (2013), this research intends to focus on two areas, which are the content and the journalists' practice by examining:

"Media commercialisation in established and emerging democracies: A comparative analysis of newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria."

This study seeks to analyse the content of what newspapers in these two countries refer to as political news in an election year. The conduct of the research uses a comparative approach to explore the strengths of New Zealand's established democratic traditions and the challenges in Nigeria's emerging democratic traditions. An advantage of this comparative research is that it provides an insight into corporatisation or conglomeration of newspapers and foreign control, which is the primary form of media ownership in New Zealand (Rosenberg, 2008). This study intends to confirm the type of influence, if any, it has on political news content in an election year and the subsequent effect on their established democracy.

A similar advantage, on the other side of the comparison, is to provide insight into the influence of ownership on newspapers in Nigeria, which, as several scholars have shown, is majorly sole proprietorship (Ojo, 2003; Olukoyun, 2004; Olayiwola, 1991; Nwachukwu, 1998). But this study further fills a research gap, in which the actual political news contents of the Nigerian newspapers are measured using some levels of analysis and



content categories. The analysis shows the contribution of the commercialised newspapers to make Nigeria a stronger democracy from an emerging one, especially when compared with an established democracy.

The approach conceptualises election coverage with two kinds of reporting: reporting of the government political activities and representative democracy. The analysis will show the critical issues that dominated the political landscape as reported by newspapers in these countries. It fills the research gap of illustrating the levels of the portrayal of political news in two different democracies compared to the types of ownership of the newspapers.

The comparative analysis of this study will also show the differences and similarities between the content covered in both New Zealand and Nigeria. The analysis of the content includes the types, lengths, position, sources of the news articles. The study will also show the dominant government political activities, elements of representative democracy and media roles during the elections studied.

Another essential research gap related to the content of political news is the types of sources cited in the analysed articles. Gans (2003) posits that a true 'citizens' democracy' plays a crucial role in representative democracy. This study fills such a gap in knowledge about the types of news sources cited, by examining types and levels of engagements with members of the electorate and reflection of different views in the public sphere, which is also a determinant of the strength of any democracy. This study compares the influence of citizens' participation as sources in political news from hard copies newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria. Six sub-categories of the electorates formulated are the government representatives, citizens, politicians, political parties, international organisation, voting agency and an in-depth insight provided into their specific roles in an election in both countries examined (Hug, 2009; Kölln et al., 2015; Le Maux, 2009).

Furthermore, election coverage by the journalists and other media practitioners often encounters challenges in the process of news gathering and dissemination as shown by scholars such as Kuhn & Neveu (2013) and Strömbäck & Kaid (2009). This comparative study provides an insight into the similar or different ensuing challenges for New Zealand, and Nigeria as their democratic traditions enact at election time. The interview data describes the challenges and salient issues regarding commercialised newspaper's gathering and dissemination of political news. Political journalists and editors are the

sources of data for the interviews. Some of these problems include the influence of political advertising, sponsorships, inducements and media organisation's support mechanisms like training and incentives, on the framing of political news.

Practical insights into the editors' roles, responsibilities and challenges while performing their gatekeeping and watchdog roles are garnered from the comments of the interview conducted. The contrast and comparison are examined in relation to the excerpts from the interviews discussed later in chapters 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of this study.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.**

The first task the thesis intends to address is the comparison and description of the political content of New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers during an election period. Second, the study will illuminate the similarities and differences in the content and coverage, journalistic practices, and dissemination of political news. Challenges discovered depict the influence of newspaper commercialisation on the coverage and content of political news from the analysed New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers. Also, there are challenges of selecting and portraying the different sources available, within the confines of time, and lobbying from different political stakeholders, which are all within professional boundaries. These challenges can be daunting to journalists and editors in an election period, and this study intends to examine the processes involved.

A comparative research study requires the same level of evaluation for the countries examined. There is the need to formulate content categories which picture the two countries. For example, journalists and editors in the pursuit of their dual functions, to the public and their newspapers organisations, encounter conflicts of interest because of the structure and political interests of each country's newspapers. There is also a traditional mode to which political journalists who are the primary content producers in this field report issues relating to political activities and representational democracy (Gingras, 2012).

Since these countries both share these peculiarities, the study adopts a quantitative content analysis of political news in selected widely circulated commercialised newspapers from New Zealand and Nigeria. The methodology is complemented by qualitative in-depth-interviews, and reveals the journalistic practices from both countries. Comparable content categories are used to analyse the contents of the

newspapers. The themes drawn out describe the media practices and challenges from each country.

The comparative examination of these research problems in this study, and with the methodologies will contribute to the public understanding of media practices and challenges of reporting political news in an election between an established democracy, New Zealand, and an emerging democracy, Nigeria. The thesis will discuss these factors in relation to how news coverage contributes to the quality of democracy in both countries.

#### **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.**

The research objectives of this study are, therefore:

- (1.) To establish the levels of the portrayal of issues on representational democracy and government political activities in the commercialised newspapers of New Zealand and Nigeria.
- (2.) To evaluate journalists and editors' roles, media practices and challenges in the process of news coverage and presentation.
- (3.) To investigate the process and influence of revenue generation especially through political advertising, sponsorships, inducement, and incentives in coverage of political news in an election.
- (4.) To provide insight into the operation of each press system in New Zealand and Nigeria determining their similarities and differences.
- (5.) To suggest ways to mitigate the effects of news commercialisation on the portrayal of representational democracy and political activities as may be discovered by this study.

#### **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- (1.) What are the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy and political activities as reflected in the political columns of New Zealand and Nigerian's commercialised newspapers?
- (2.) What are the media practices and challenges among political journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria?

(3.) What are the sources of funding for political news, and the influence of sponsorships, training, and incentives or inducements on the process of political news coverage and dissemination?

(4.) What are the differences and similarities in the portrayal of issues relating to representational democracy and government political activities?

## **1.6. COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES**

In this age, it is difficult for nations to be indifferent about happenings in other nations. More so, certain major world events which are political, economic or social, (for example, the end of the Cold War era, the Gulf War, the Middle East crises, the September 11 attack, 2008 financial crisis or refugee crisis) have resulted in crisis that affect groups in all countries. The leading causes are largely linked to globalisation and diffusion trends of information flows (Esser & Hanitzsch 2012; Tomlinson 1999; Urry 2003). The world is becoming increasingly interconnected, interdependent and in- egalitarian (Cottle 2008).

Scholars in many fields advocate studies that cross geographical boundaries to help understand society in global terms, (Esser & Hanitzsch 2012; Gurevitch & Blumler 2004; Hanitzsch 2009; Kohn 1989; Livingstone 2003). These studies are variously referred to as “cross-country,” “cross-national”, “cross-societal”, “cross-cultural”, “cross-systemic” and “cross-institutional,” as well as “trans-national”, “trans-societal” and “trans-cultural” which are synonymous with “comparative” research, comparative studies, (Esser & Hanitzsch 2012; Hanitzsch 2009; Kohn 1989; Livingstone 2003). Communication or media studies have also adopted these approaches where such work is known as comparative media research or study (Gurevitch & Blumler 2004). Although the focus of this thesis is not to study global processes but use a cross-country study to understand each country’s media and politics better and contribute to understanding of the global situation.

### **1.6.1 WHAT IS COMPARATIVE MEDIA RESEARCH?**

Definitions abound on what scholars refer to as comparative media research. Esser and Hanitzsch (2012,p.5) explains that;

Comparative research in media and communication conventionally understood as contrasting different macro-level units (like world regions, countries, sub-national regions, social milieus, language areas, cultural thickenings) at one point or more

in time. The term macro-level units were expanded to include “systems, cultures, markets, or their sub-elements.

At least the field of comparative communication research involves a minimum of one object of investigation (Bastiansen, 2008; McQuail, 2005).

Comparative research in media and communication compares two or more nations concerning some common activities across geographically or historically defined systems (Blumler, McLeod & Rosengren 1992a; Edelstein 1982,p.14). A media research project further refers to as comparative if two or more a-priori-defined cultural populations compare with the use of at least one functionally equivalent concept (Kohn 1989). It also includes studies that are explicitly comparative, that utilise systematically comparable data from two or more nations (Kohn 1989). None the less, a comparison between different points in time which is the temporal aspect of comparative research, is not included in these descriptions (Hanitzsch 2009).

These definitions identify specific elements that make a media study comparative which could be the study of two or more nations. There is also the need for studying macro units such as systems, language, markets, and their sub-elements which can compare across the media practices in each nation. The word explicit in Kohn’s (1989) description also implies that the study should be on elements across nations and not an implicit focus on issues within a country as much as possible.

### **1.6.2 VARIOUS FORMS OF COMPARATIVE MEDIA RESEARCH**

In order to effectively carry out comparative media research, scholars have advocated some models or forms for the research. Livingstone (2003) used Kohn’s (1989) four classifications or models for conducting a comparative media research project.

The first is the ‘nation as an object of study’, which implies ‘providing a useful means of determining what is distinctive about a country’. The second form is ‘nation as a context of study’ which tests a ‘hypothesised universality of an identified phenomenon’ across countries to evaluate the levels of variance. The third form which is ‘nation as a unit of analyses’ seeks to show the systematic relations in the measurable dimensions of variance and to understand the diversity of different national contexts. The fourth form is ‘nation as a component

of a larger international or transnational system' compares nations in so far as they are (assumed to be) systematically interrelated due to some underlying process (e.g. capitalism). The model allows for an external complex account of the hypothesized transnational process studied (Livingstone 2003, pp. 484-486).

The thesis falls under the fourth category of Livingstone (2003) models.

Another classification for comparative media research refers to the functional form of comparison that involves cross-organisational or cross-institutional research (Hanitzsch & Donsbach, 2012). Other forms of comparative media research include studies intended "to improve understanding of one's own country; improving understanding of other countries; testing a theory across diverse settings; examining transnational processes across different contexts; examining the local reception of imported cultural forms; building abstract universally applicable theory; challenging claims to universality; evaluating scope and value of certain phenomena; identifying marginalized cultural forms; improving international understanding; and learning from the policy initiatives of others" (Hofstede, 2001; Livingstone, 2003 p. 479). Against this backdrop, this comparative study intends to provide more understanding of New Zealand, and Nigeria commercialised newspapers and democratic practices. The study will also examine different views and application through newspaper contents to the theories on media roles in a democracy. It will also evaluate specific phenomena like professionalism, training for journalists and editors. The issue associated with media regulation such as restrictions on political advertisement, sponsorships and others between New Zealand and Nigeria.

Comparative analysis is also based on "most similar systems design" which are not meant "to hold certain variables constant for purposes of demonstrating causality, but to permit careful development of concepts that can be used for further comparative analysis, as well as hypotheses about their interrelations" (Hallin & Mancini 2004,p.6). A comparative analysis of media systems also includes "cultural industries – film, music, television and other entertainment; telecommunication; public relations; and a number of other areas" (Hallin & Mancini 2004,p. 7).

The thesis intends to conduct a comparative analysis of print newspapers between a developed economy practising an established form of democracy and a developing economy, practising an emerging form of democracy. This form of research is situated

under the fourth form of comparative media study by Kohn (1989) and Livingstone (2003).

### **1.7. THE VALUE OF THIS RESEARCH.**

The relationship between the media and democracy is crucially important since the media can influence election outcomes and also a significant determinant of government actions and policies. One of the beliefs of democracy is that it provides certain dividends to all its participants. The ruler gets legitimate power, and the ruled get improved welfare and livelihood and influence over the ruler. The expectations of the benefits of good government through democracy vary in one form or the other, from one society to another.

The value of this research reflects its ability to justify the portrayal of such domains as building and reconstruction, road construction, health, and other pertinent issues in New Zealand newspapers during the coverage of the 2014 general election. The newspapers provide information for the electorates about the candidates in the election and their programmes. Newspapers' letters to the editor also present avenues for public engagement and deliberation. This research also gives insight into the professional, cultural, societal, political, economic factors that justifies New Zealand as an established democracy.

In Nigeria's emerging democracy, this research is valuable as it provides insights into the challenges of newspapers coverage of election during the 2015 Presidential election. Among issues featured are youth unemployment, power and petroleum, infrastructural development, corruption in government and even among the journalists who cover the election.

With the adoption of media conglomeration as the form of ownership of newspapers in New Zealand as an established democracy, and sole proprietorship in Nigeria as an emerging democracy, the diversity of media matches the difference in social, economic, and political conditions that shape the potential for democracy. New Zealand and Nigeria will, therefore, benefit from this study in the following ways:

1. The ownership of the media in New Zealand is a conglomerate, and sole proprietorship is the order of the day in Nigeria. This study exposes the

implications of the different forms of information sourcing, and the fear of biased or incomplete information provided for the citizens on critical public issues. Public discussions and engagements are the bedrocks for growth in any representative democracy; this study shows the level of such among the citizens as portrayed from the analysed newspapers of New Zealand and Nigeria.

2. There is a recent challenge with fewer journalists working hard to fill more online and offline news space, while there is little or no time for in-depth and investigative reporting. It is interesting to evaluate how the print media in New Zealand and Nigeria effectively operate under such limitations. This research reveals news processes and the challenges encountered by journalists and editors in the dissemination of political news in an election period. This comparative media research seeks to discover the differences in the content of political news from two different countries, New Zealand and Nigeria, and proffer reasons for these differences. The study discusses the pressures of media commercialisation on news practices, claims which are refuted or established, alongside the impacts on representational democracy. The media roles and the actual performance of journalists and editors are compared between the established and emerging democracy.
3. The value of this research is also a product of the four research questions answered. The research questions come out of the passion for translating technical provisions in communication studies for commercial media to everyday life and expectations of the citizens of both New Zealand and Nigeria under democracy. The distinction between the forms of ownership and its implication for political news processes and portrayal will be studied. It is therefore of international interest since it reflects media practices across continents, countries, cultures, peoples, and languages. Also, with this study, scholars across both countries can gather information which will be useful for filling any research gaps from this study.



## **1.8 THE THESIS OUTLINE**

The thesis divides into fourteen chapters which examine different necessary concepts that focus on democracy and media.

Chapter one gives the introduction to the study. It enumerates scholarly statements that justify the essential roles of the media in a democracy. These roles encompass the government, the electorates, or citizens and even the media. The chapter also discusses the research gaps filled by the thesis. It emphasises further that the thesis falls under media and democracy studies. More specifically, the concerns about media commercialisation situates this study under the theme of political communication. The heart of the thesis is the focus on content and the journalists' and editors' roles. The section further validates the importance of the comparative nature of the thesis as it reflects the similarities and differences between newspapers contents and professional practices of journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria. The chapter also outlines the statements of the problems, the five objectives of the study and the four research questions.

Chapter two of the thesis is titled 'contextual and historical review', and it provides background to crucial issues and terminologies in the thesis. Scholarly perspectives unpack the concepts of media, mass media and mass communication. These terms were within the context of the influence of media and its subsequent impact in societies. The chapter further discusses media history from two perspectives, which involves, the history of newspapers as a medium of communication and competing narratives of media history. The first perspective examines the history of printing and newspapers beginning from the invention of the Gutenberg printing press to the era of the popular press. The chapter then discusses seven competing narratives of media history which depict the different period of media impact on society and progressive development through use.

The next discussion focuses on New Zealand newspaper from a perspective which depicts trends that tally with the historical trajectory of newspapers from Europe and America. This review also applies to the Nigerian newspaper history which reflects the influence of colonisation, missionary incursion, and nationalist movements. The chapter shows a juxtaposition of technological, political, and societal factors that propelled the growth and developments of newspapers in each country examined and set the context for the specific contemporary media practices discussed in the thesis.

Chapter three begins with a description of the theoretical framework, of the thesis. It examines the concepts of democracy, representational democracy, established and emerging democracy and how these terms relate to the news media of New Zealand and Nigeria. The public sphere theory is used to deepen the understanding of the role of the media and democracy. It also evaluates several scholars' use and critique of Jürgen Habermas theory of the public sphere. The chapter also enumerates the forms and features of a functioning democratic sphere, critiques of the state of the public sphere and the impact of digital media on the public sphere. The chapter further introduces a practical twist through the description of the history of the development of democratic structures and practices in Nigeria and New Zealand. A second theory which is the normative media role by Christians (2009) examines and reveals the expectations from media practitioners regarding newspaper journalists' and editors' roles in news processes and dissemination. The theory examined four streams, which involves the monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical roles of the media.

Chapter four examines the critical political economy theory which provides a basis for the examination of commercialised newspapers in the thesis. It also discusses media/newspaper commercialisation. The section on media products, public interest and the public sphere show the necessity for a balance in the contents of the media to achieve both cultural and commercial objectives. The theme at the centre of media commercialisation, advertisements, shows its impact on the political contents of newspapers. Chapter four sums up the chapter by also showing the structure of media ownership in New Zealand and Nigeria. It also discusses the challenges of election coverage and professionalism of newspapers journalists.

The fifth chapter illustrates the methodology adopted for this study. It justifies the use of the quantitative content analysis method and the in-depth interviews methods for data collection, beginning with a methodological reflection situating the study under the framing and social construction of reality theories. The content categories were derived from chapter 3 and 4 and used to extract the data needed to address the research questions. The population, the sampling technique and the sample size were described for both the in-depth interview and content analysis. Data collection process using a code sheet based on the pilot study's discoveries are outlined. The chapter also enumerates the questions of the validity, reliability and intercoder reliability in the study. Also, the

in-depth interview methods are discussed in relation to the challenges cited by the thematic discussion of data.

Chapter six and seven give a detailed description of the data from the content analysis for New Zealand and Nigeria alternatively. The chapter provides answers to the first research question. The data runs through a preliminary discussion from the literature reviews and theory espoused earlier. Chapter 8, 9, 10, 11 uses a thematic scheme to describe problems encountered by the New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers' journalists and editors. Issues discussed were journalistic practice, challenges of news processes, editors' roles, and justification for different forms of newspapers' political content. Other themes focus on the relationship between the press, political parties, and the government.

Furthermore, the theme also features funding for political journalists, incentives and inducements, sponsorships, political advertisements influence on news processes. Not least, the chapter discusses sponsorships, an alternative career path for journalists and possible availability of training for journalists. These chapters answer the second and third research questions of the thesis.

Chapter 12 focuses on the similarities and differences of the findings from the two countries across all the levels of analysis. It answers the fourth research question. Finally, chapters 13 and 14 reflect the discussions of essential findings and conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further studies.

## **CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUAL HISTORICAL REVIEWS**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the introductory chapter of the thesis, the importance and the necessity of this research was justified. Chapter one clarified one of the concepts that are a critical term in the thesis. Chapter 2 further discusses ideas underpinning the research questions, drawing on scholarly literature. The focus of this study is on the interactions among commercialised newspapers, journalists/editors' roles in election coverage and contents of political news in an established and emerging democracy. The four research questions adopted to examine the levels of portrayal in newspapers, the process and challenges of political news gathering and dissemination, sources of financing, and a comparison of both countries. This chapter will undertake contextual historical reviews that show a link to the newspapers. The literary exposition begins by considering, foundational concepts such as the media, mass media, mass communication, dimensions of the mass media history; history of printing and the newspapers; alternative or competing media history; a cumulative perspective of New Zealand newspaper history, history of Nigerian newspapers. Chapter three discusses the second aspect of democracy, related theories, and media roles.

### **2.2 THE MEDIA, MASS MEDIA, MASS COMMUNICATION.**

The task of defining a concept may often seem easy, but the term media usually conjoins with other words which can affect its meaning or function. In other words, one discovers that there exists abundant literature in which the word media conjoins with another word. Examples of these conjoins include media literacy, media theory, media environments, media systems, media conglomerates, alternative media, media research, media commercialisation.

The importance of the word media has shifted from the first word 'mass' in the phrase 'mass media' to the second word 'media' (Benson & Wood, 2015). The use of the term "media" is a plural form of 'medium' and also functions as its singular form even though it spells as media. This form of pluralisation and use has generated arguments from certain language scholars. For example, Kemp (2013) uses the definition as both a plural and a singular. The media "is an intermediate agency or a channel of communication or expression, a means of mass communication, especially newspapers, radio, and television" (Kemp, 2013, p.4).

The media is also the collective communication outlet or tools used to store and deliver information or data. Such use of information or data is either associated with communication media, or the specialised communication businesses such as print media and the press, photography, advertising, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television), and publishing (Bhattacharyya, 2012; Janssen, 2010; Lister et al., 2009; Errand Media, 2017,p.1). The “media allow us to communicate and therefore associates with all forms of communication” (Street, 2011, p.6). Street (2011), however, added the term ‘mass’ and cited Thompson (1988) and McLuhan (1964) who point out that the mass media distinguishes a form of communication that is at a distance with an unknown audience; that can store, reproduce, and sell the substance of the communication. The mass media shapes the type of technology it uses, and influence politics, economics, and law through its production process. Street (2011) further alludes that the different systems of communication operations, determine the variety of communication outputs.

The overwhelming importance of the media asserts that the media is both a necessary and unavoidable part of our modern world. The media can thus be seen to affect our daily lives in these various ways:

Media are ubiquitous – they are everywhere – and pervasive – they cannot be switched off. Media are indeterminate; they are not finished, nor static – but essentially plastic (meaning that it is impressionable) and pliable. Media evolve and have creative agency. As hardware and software, they act upon each other next to their interactions with us. We emotionally invest ourselves into media as much as our media become an effective part of us. As platforms of communication, media constitute as well as reproduce the world we live in (Deuze, 2012,p. xi).

One significant characteristic, which unifies and exists in each of these accounts of defining the media, is that the media are seen to have a strong influence. It further explains why the concept of ‘mass’ is often used to describe the word media. Several scholars emphasise that, the most apparent feature of the mass media is designed to reach many or a large audience (Bhattacharyya, 2012; McQuail, 2000).

The term mass media explains the means of communication that operate on a large scale, reaching and involving virtually everyone in a society to a greater or lesser degree. It refers to the many media that are long-established and familiar, such as newspapers, magazines, film, radio, television, and media that reproduce recorded music. It also refers

to the organised means for communicating openly and at a distance to many receivers within a short space of time (McQuail, 2000,2006,2010; McQuail et al., 2005).

The third term which is often used interchangeably in some instances is the term mass communication (Ramey, 2007). Ramey traces the beginning of mass communication to the beginning of the mass media (Ramey, 2007). Manohar also refers to mass communication as communication devices used to communicate with a broad number of people in different languages (Manohar, 2011). The relationship between these three terms, media, mass media and mass communication, is further enhanced by the definition which states that the mass media are diversified media technologies that targets large audience with mass communication (Malley, 2002).

The likes of Blumer (1939) was the first to define the mass formally as a new type of social formation in modern society. He justifies the application of the term 'mass' by contrasting it with other formations, especially the group, crowd and public. Blumer (1939) states that the term 'mass' captured a widely dispersed collective, whose members were unknown to each other or whoever brought the audience into existence (Blumer 1939 in McQuail, 2000).

To further justify the concept of 'mass', Lasswell (1902-1978) used the term during the 20th century. Communication process is who (control) says what (content) to whom (audience) in which channel and to what effect. The description of how different big groups are is 'whom' in the definition (Briggs & Burke, 2002b, p. 5). McQuail (2000) further opines that a shifting composition marks the 'mass' within changing boundaries, with no specific delimitation to its formation. It is equally unable to act for itself but is acted upon, thus making it an object of manipulation by communicators.

The mass is said to be heterogeneous, to consist of large numbers, from different social strata and demographical groups. The mass is homogenous in its choice of object of interest and the perceptions of its manipulators. It means that depending on the media used with the 'mass', that is the mass media, the seemingly highly diversified mass can be made to act in unison by its communicator or manipulator. From the conceptual description given above, media is used to initiate a 'mass behaviour' (McQuail, 2000). The media which is the means of communication imposes on the element of the mass the type of communication that is intended.

The description also suggests the relevance of the mass media to this study. The mass media has become an essential element in the process of democratic politics by providing an arena and channel for extensive debate, for making candidates for office widely known and for distributing diverse information and opinion (Devereux, 2007; McQuail, 2000:4). Moreover, the mass media also act as a means of exercising power by the relatively privileged access that politicians, agents of government and citizens can generally claim from the media as a legitimate right, which often comes in the form of news, opinion polls, interviews, features articles, and so on.

Another argument by McQuail (2000) is that the mass media is steadily increasing economic significance, as media industries grow, diversify, and consolidate their power in the market. Therefore, the mass media has received tremendous attention since its early days, and it is subject to much public scrutiny, regulations and theorising.

However, a scholar recently imputes a new definition to the concept of mass. He states that mass media has moved beyond its traditional definition as it no longer focuses on a

... 'Specific geographical territory', operates from technologies and networks where anyone can produce information, "releasing" the editorial centre. The production of information is not necessarily commercial and does not necessarily have economic conglomerates behind. It does not compete for massive funding in advertising not state concessions and allow information customisation, publication and dissemination worldwide, with multimedia capabilities. The product is customizable, and the communication is biased by conversation: communication flows from all to all; unlike the one to all unidirectional flow of the mass media functions. It operates by "niche" (not the hit), the possibility of offering numerous products for few interested people. The structure of the network put everything available for everyone, everywhere! We can see these post-mass media functions on the actual development of blogs, free software, podcasting, wikis, collaborative maps, and so on. They operate under what I call the three basic principles of cyber culture "release" of the emission, "bidirectional connection," and "reconfiguration" of institutions and cultural industry. The role of mass media function is "information," whereas that of the post-mass media function is "communication" (like blogs, wikis, map collaboration, chats network, social software networks, etc.), (Lemos, 2010,p.404).

This argument is further bolstered by the proposition that there is a connection at the cultural level between the emergence of mass media and the history of nation formation. The 'print revolution' or 'print capitalism' terms used in the book *Imagined Communities* had a great impact on the development of the mass media and subsequently nation's

formation (Anderson 1991). The spread of the printing press resulted in the growth of literacy rates and this subsequently generated new ways of envisioning social ties thereby promoting nationalism, nation, and nationality (Anderson 1991).

Anderson (2016, p.6) defines the nation as “an imagined (inherently limited and sovereign) political community”. He argues that the term imagined is ascribed because “members of even the smallest nation will never know, meet or also hear most of their fellow members but in the mind of each, lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2016, p.6). The process of this image formation is as a result of three intervening cultural variables (Anderson 2016). The first is the influence of particular script language such as Greek for the Christians and Arabic for the Muslims as inseparable and offering privileged access to the ontological truth these religions represent. The second variable is that society organises certain monarchs operating within some dynastic realm. The third which is relevant to the thesis, are forms of the mass media (book publishing and the newspapers) role, in the development of increasingly rapid communication causing the separation between cosmology and history.

The effect shows as

Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful than print capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think of themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways. The introduction of printing was in this respect a stage on the road to our present society of mass consumption and standardisation (Anderson 2016, pp. 36-38).

It, therefore, serves as a transitional link to nation formation or the emergence of modernity. For example, the concept of the ‘global village’ signposts the post-mass-media age or the onset of the digital revolution, and this occurred from the impact of print capitalism in terms of enabling nation formation (Breuilly 2016).

In essence, "the use of communication media transforms the spatial and temporal organisation of social life, creating new forms of action and interaction, and new modes of exercising power, which no longer link to the sharing of a common locale" (Birkhead 1997, p. 126).

Breuilly (2016) and Anderson (2016) both agreed that the cognitive revolution caused by the influx of books, newspapers, novels through print capitalism made possible a comprehensive cultural and greater political awareness.



In carrying on the arguments above, another three major domains of the contribution of the mass media enumerated are: the rise of modernity through the instrument of the corporate press, the advancement of technological stage through the electronic communication conquest of time and space and the subsequent accommodating of the evolving needs of democracy (Thompson 1995).

The third point by Birkhead (1997) supported Thompson's acceptance of the concepts of the bourgeoisie public sphere by Habermas. Although he rejects the centrality for the development of the public of the specific practice of face-to-face means of communication. Instead, Birkhead (1997) advocated for a new central reality of contemporary democratic society caused by the rise of mediated publicness, "publics without places" which the media bring into existence for the conduct of the nation's political life. Thus, modern politics involves the management of media visibility as much as the engagement of dialogue and debate.

Mediated visibility of power is another social theory which is made possible by the globalisation of communication interwoven with other developmental processes of modern societies. It causes a change in the relationship between public and private life thereby marring the delineation between the two (Thompson 1995).

The role of the newspapers in nation formation is also supported by Mercer (1992, p.27) who refers to this role as "a 'habitus', a technique, practices and 'environment' in which it is possible to feel 'at home' ". The newspapers operate at three levels; 1) classification of the diverse phenomenon; 2) enabling the establishment of forms of social identity and affiliation; 3) establishing intangible forms for the existence and arrangements of groups, classes, and communities (Mercer, 1992 p.28). Nation formation, class distinction, promotion of mediated publicness, cognitive revolution are all ways the newspapers has impacted the world.

Recently, the conduct of democratic and undemocratic politics, both nationally and internationally, depends more and more on all definitions of the mass media and the role of the newspapers. The use of mass media affects almost every area of daily living (Deuze, 2012). The importance of the media is further established by using alternate words such as 'mass society', 'mass culture' and 'elites' which became popular in the twentieth century (Briggs & Burke, 2005,p.96). However, the process is the emergence of mass media as the mutual action and reaction of the makers or leaders of opinion upon the

mass and the mass upon them. The rise of modern societies equates to the development of the media (Malley, 2002). Media always have a role to play in societies, and this will be justified when we examine alternative or competing media history. What the British nation media accomplished or not in the progression of society is discussed in the subsequent section in this chapter. The historical narration of New Zealand and Nigeria newspapers and democracy will also show their links with the British society.

The concepts of media, mass media and mass communication are therefore three concepts that are pertinent to this study. The rationale for this study is that if democracy is about plurality in society and the mass media are means of communicating with the populace; then there is a symbiotic relationship between the mass media and democracy. This study examines the operations of the newspaper, a form of mass media which plays a democratic role in New Zealand and Nigeria. Media, mass media or mass communication cannot be understood as a social phenomenon unless one examines how it has historically developed. The next section will look beyond the technological conduit and focus on its societal use and development. The media or newspapers are not just a medium of communication between an established democracy but also an instrument of change, used to achieve democracy in an emerging nation. The next sections will therefore, first justify the description of two dimensions of media histories, then examine the newspaper history of each country. These examinations of the literature will illuminate the description of data and the discussion of findings to the research questions in chapters 6-13.

### **2.3 DIMENSIONS OF MASS MEDIA HISTORY.**

Media scholars often engage in the act of narrating media history from their perception of how media has shaped their environment or ways of living either in the past or present. The fact is attested to by Curran who argues that media history as any other academic fields is often rife with numerous scholars' propositions, theories, perceptions, and arguments. This complexity, within the confines of media history, is summarised in three dimensions (Curran, 2002).

The first dimension of the history of the media is often an exploration of a medium. It takes the form of a historical account of mediums like the press or newspaper, book, film, television, radio, music, photography, telegraph, telephone, computers and any other emerging one. This type of narration is without recourse to the influence of other forms

of media but focuses on one. The result is a fractured and incomplete description of the media (Curran, 2002b; Fischer, 1994; Hampton, 2004; Hilmes & Jacobs, 2003; Smith & Paterson, 1998).

The second dimension focuses more on the content and organisation of a form of media instead of showing the connection between media development and other happenings in society. For example, the narration of the history of printing provided a context for newspapers growth and the emergence of a public sphere. This form of chronicle misses out on such historical link (Briggs & Burke, 2009b; Curran, 2002b; DiCenzo, 2004; Pesut & Horton-Deutsch, 2002).

The third type of media history, which is the technological innovations of media, also produces a limited view, as a result of the exclusion of the other two, (Curran, 2009). For example, the focus on the technological innovations related to the development of “media history” a term used by Malley (2002), but popularised by Marshall McLuhan.

Scholars have, therefore, advocated for the alternative or competing narrative of media (Curran, 2002b; Malley, 2002; Nicholas, 2012). The form of media narration that explores the media, describes the contextual influence on and by society, in which it operates.

So, in examining the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy, government’s political activities as reflected in the political columns of New Zealand and Nigerian's commercialised newspapers, and other research questions for this study, it is necessary to discuss the history of printing and newspapers. The subsequent sections will describe competing versions of media history and the histories of newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria.

This type of narration offers a more complex and proper stream of information and interpretation. A proper perspective of media history to this research, which also aligns with one of the objectives of this study, is to provide insight into the historical trends and operations of the media, specifically the newspaper. The type of historical exploration includes the exploration of a medium, content and organisation of the form of the media, the contextual description of the media within the society it operates, and the technological innovation, is the fusion of all the identified schools of thoughts above. Each country under investigation in this study has its unique media history. The impact of media history on news processes in an election year is significant for this study.

There is an attempt to examine the history of the media from the narrative point of view. The focus is on both the technological impact and the societal contextual impacts. The description follows the proposition of the effect of the media on some different long-term changes in society, which is the different interpretations of media history (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Curran, 2002b,2009,2011; Curran et al., 2009).

## **2.4 HISTORY OF PRINTING AND NEWSPAPERS.**

The focus of the thesis is on the examination of the roles of commercialised newspapers in democracy. It is therefore desirable to examine the history of newspapers generally and then specifically from New Zealand and Nigeria. The narration here embraces all the dimensions of media history.

Briggs and Burke (2005), cite historians from about 1450-1789 which is the early modern period or the print revolution. The invention of a printing press initiated this period by Gutenberg of Mainz – who perhaps might have been influenced by the wine presses of his native Rhineland – which used the movable metal type. They note a non-western history too, starting in China and Japan where printing had existed since the eighth century AD with the use of block printing (Eisenstein, 2012).

Before the print revolution, we are, however, reminded of some old forms of communication. The first is the existence of oral communication or culture in the form of the altar, pulpit, song (ballad) and rumour (Carey, 2008). Others are the written communication involving the teaching of writing and arithmetic, visual communication in the forms of works of art, paintings, and printed images hewed from a block of wood or a copper or steel plate (Gitelman & Ebooks, 2014; Miller, 2013). Media history started in the earliest days of human social life and communication which was the oral or pre-literate days, and the insights of archaeologists and anthropologists have proven useful to its research (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Stuart, 2008).

The advent of printing technology had remarkable and positive effects on these pre-existing media of communication. There were interactions and interface between these varying forms of media. Each type is often used to illustrate or explain the other. What is of most interest is the convergence of each kind of media into one. The invention or the discovery of one seems to create the need or lead to that of another. There was a link which initiated a form of unification. Each media has its limitation in use and function thereby creating a necessity for the other (Briggs & Burke, 2005).

The role of movement via a diaspora of German printers throughout Europe enhanced the spread of the printing press. The move later shows as the trend in the establishment of New Zealand and Nigeria newspapers history. Although in some areas such as modern Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria where literacy confines to the clergy, people were disadvantaged. In portraying its relatedness, the English philosopher Bacon (1533-92) said that the invention of printing, gunpowder and the compass were a trio which changed the whole state of things throughout the world (Briggs & Burke, 2005,2009a).

The rise of the newspaper in the seventeenth century nevertheless heightened the celebration of the printing press. The only significant challenge was that printing created an information explosion and thereby new methods of information containment or management was devised. For example, there was an explosion of books, cataloguing became a herculean task for the rising number of librarians and bookselling, and proofreading became another much-needed skill (Darnton, 1982).

Most of the development of the printing technology in the early stages was in Europe but taken over by America with improved technology that ushered in the reign of the press or newspaper. The period was referred to as the penny press making the *New York Sun* (1833) as the first successful newspaper which sold as much as 34,000 copies a day, mostly on street corners (Briggs & Burke, 2005,2009a).

This success was followed by Bennett's *New York Herald* (1835). He was quoted to have said, "My ambition is to make the newspaper press the great organ and pivot of government, society, commerce, finance, religion, and all human civilisation..." (Briggs & Burke, 2005:155). He experimented with a method of printing using a metal plate impression of type rather the type itself, to develop the press. It was regarded as a genuine innovation and by the 1870s; printing by stereotypes had spread widely (Briggs & Burke, 2005).

Great Britain, on the other hand, followed by establishing *The Times* which was called the most important journal the world has ever witnessed. The newspaper was so influential that it was referred to as the fourth estate, a name fashioned after the medieval concept of an estate which refers to Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal and Commons. The term fourth estate was used as the title of a book on the press by Hunt in 1850 (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Hampton, 2010).

Back in America, one of the most exceptional contributions to the world of the press was the first amendment, incorporated into the bills of right passed by Congress in 1791. It states that; "...or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the freedom of speech or the press". The law precipitated the introduction of the concept of the press as the 'free marketplace of ideas' by Wendel Holmes (1841-1935). Other terms used to refer to the press at that time were: 'The Ark of covenant' by GM Trevelyan (1876-1962), 'March of Intellect' by Charles Knight, 'Age of discussion' by Walter Bagehot (Baker, 2002; Bollinger, 1994; Briggs & Burke, 2005,p.155).

In relating the influence of the press on opinion formation, Edward Bulwer Lytton made a statement which drew out the impact of cover price and sales on expanding the numbers of people who can now afford a newspaper (Briggs & Burke, 2005). In other words, the newspaper made the public opinion, which is now supreme, and speaks in print. Other references to the newspaper were 'the great medium of communication' and it states that public opinion rests on the information it supplies.

Newspapers becomes the instrument of free speech, liberal ideas, and a great medium of mass communication. Newspapers did not mature because of technological advancement but in response to societal needs. For example, entrepreneurial businesspeople promoted its use both for commercial, political, and cultural needs of the people.

Another unique feature of the press in America was that it was highly decentralised, giving it the ability to represent varying views, opinions, and classes in society. The same was also the case in France and Italy. In Britain however, the repeal of the stamp act and the end of the paper duties affected the circulation of *The Times*. However, the provincial press thrived during this era (Briggs & Burke, 2005). There were 96 provincial dailies and out of the 546 million total annual newspaper circulations, 340 million were provincial newspapers. The proliferation enhanced the practice of freedom of the press. An article in the *Daily Telegraph* related the impact of the press from a futuristic perspective. It stated that in future (which is now), a newspaper would be considered as a far more formidable and trustworthy authority than the Attorney- General or official censor of the press (Briggs & Burke, 2005,2009a).

Moreover, Briggs and Burke (2005, p. 158) assert that in the history of the press, each country has its landmark date. Different press laws were emanating from different countries such as France, Germany, India, Russia, Canada, and others. They also affirmed

that by 1900, “the press had established itself as a force in society that would have to be reckoned with as much in a democratising future as it had been in an authoritarian past J.M Ludlow in 1867 claimed that:

The cheap newspapers and periodicals could not perhaps be defined strictly as educators for good or evil, and probably on the whole for good, they are very powerful ones. Notwithstanding the many sins and shortcoming of the newspaper press, the working man of today, (he meant then) with his broadsheet for a penny is by its aid a man of fuller information, better judgment and wider sympathies than the workman of thirty years back who had to content himself with gossip and rumour (Briggs & Burke, 2009a, p.186)

The newspaper, as will be seen later, was to co-exist with other upcoming forms of mass media.

Another essential feature noted by Briggs and Burke (2005) was the roles of the newsmakers that is the journalists (who were by then mostly men), and the editors who selected, arranged, presented, and interpreted the news. Journalists necessitated the process of professionalism by forming the National Union of Journalists in 1907 and began the process of training especially in America in places like the Press Washington College in Virginia and the Missouri School of Journalism. Joseph Pulitzer also contributed immensely to educating journalists by establishing a Graduate School at Columbia University. He stated that this would help the press to further add to “...the progress of justice, of civilisation, of humanity, of public opinion, and democratic ideas and ideals” (Briggs & Burke, 2005).

The narration above shows the cultural, political, and commercial use of newspaper embedded in its history. It also shows the various forms of media practices and journalism which, confirms the definition given earlier about media influence, in this regard, newspaper (Deuze, 2012). This study adopts the methodology of content analysis and in-depth interviews to examine all these aspects of media influence.

To further elaborate on the relativeness between newspapers and its use in society, we shall examine competing media history. The historical purview of newspaper in New Zealand and Nigeria will then be studied in order to justify the influences of the universal and the national trends of newspaper development on election coverage.

## **2.5 COMPETING NARRATIVES OF MEDIA HISTORY**

The general overview and the industry-focused account of the newspaper are limited. It does not show the role played by intervening variables of cultural influence on the people and their media. Competing or alternative media description allows therefore for the identification of seven significant narratives. These are the various functions the media was made to perform, and the limitation of one usually leads to the discovery of another. They are “liberal, feminist, populist, libertarian, anthropological, radical, and technological determinist” (Curran, 2002b,2009; Stuart, 2008,p.2).

Furthermore, the description of this type of media history helps to establish expectations from the media. The later account of the functions of the media in a democracy uses this discussion as a building block. Interestingly, this school of thought have mostly British influences, which is why the study of this media history also reflects on New Zealand and Nigeria, because of their British roots.

The first among the seven competing narratives is the liberal or the pluralist model (Curran, 2002b,2009; Leach et al., 2011). The pluralist or liberal narrative

comes out of a research tradition which chronicles the gradual evolution of ‘constitutional government’ by tracking the origins and rise of parliament; the defeat of absolutism and the establishment of the rule of law; the erosion of monarchical power and the related emergence of political parties; and, ultimately, the establishment of mass democracy. The right to vote, accompanied by constitutional reforms—secret voting in 1872, a limit on constituency election expenditure in 1883, a curb on the power of the House of Lords in 1911, and the pruning of its hereditary members with voting rights in 1999—which democratised the political process (Curran, 2002b, p.135).

The liberal narrative indicates the beginning of democracy with the adoption of voting. The description shows the process of enlisting popular participation in governance portraying the role of the media.

Stuart (2008) also states that the media was responsible for empowering the people and making them active in political discussion. He expressed this thus:

The media are seen to provide the information necessary for citizens to engage with public affairs, subject authority to critical scrutiny, represent public opinion to the government, and – especially in the case of public service broadcasting – encourage social communication, and thus cohesion, among different groups in society (Stuart, 2008).



The narration of media history provided the foundation for the practice of modern democracy. Second, the media after a long struggle with the British government were able to secure their operational independence. The method of censorship on films, radio, and television and information tax on the newspaper was abolished (Briggs & Burke, 2005, 2009a; Curran, 2009; Stuart, 2008).

The resultant effect of this was a transformation of the tenor and dynamics of English politics. There was an increase in the political contents in newspapers and this enhanced participation among the citizens. Moreover, the press was able to effectively take on a watchdog role in society (Leach et al., 2011; Spybey, 2008).

However, a principal limitation of the liberal form of press history is that it neglected women and their position within society or the 'public', which it ought to also represent. The neglect gives birth to the second type of historical narrative of the media called the feminist challenge drawing on feminist cultural theory (Curran, 2002b; Hooks, 2000; Lazar, 2005; Skeggs, 1995).

The study of New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers used the electorates as sources cited in the content of the articles analysed, which included women. Although the thesis does not explicitly measure gender voice depiction, women were in no way excluded either. One of the articles analysed in this study focused on the issue of gender and participation in the election. Therefore, the second competing narration was a weakness of the first and relevant as an expected media role in society.

In the early eighteenth century, popular culture supported the subordination of women. There were two spheres of arguments to the portrayal of women during this time which sum up as:

Women were pure, gentle, self-sacrificing, emotional, and given to piety, while men were naturally worldly, physical, assertive, rational, and self-controlled. Woman's virtue made her best suited to the home where her moral strength could be harnessed to raising children and exerting a civilising influence away from the corruption of the outside world. By contrast, man's physical strength, and greater capacity for action, reason and self-command, made him better fitted for the rigours of the external world (Curran, 2002b, p.138).

There was entirely no reason, despite the activities of women in family life, not to be included in societal and political lives. But, their portrayal in the media was limited to their domestic activities.

The feminist belief therefore was propagated and strengthened through existing literature of the day such as advertisements, women's and girls' magazines, romantic fiction, newspapers, popular films, and television programs, among others (Curran, 2002b,2009; Stuart, 2008).

The marginalisation of women, despite the politicisation of the day, led to the rise of the women press in the early part of the twentieth century (Patrick, 1990). Although, the press initially portrayed women as homemakers, and people with profound domestic influence the portrayal later resulted in their being suitable for public roles in the public sphere. This portrayal gave birth to the dominant participation of women in active politics with the election of the first female Prime Minister in 1979 (Bingham, 2004; Curran, 2002b).

Moreover, there were organised women movements; they became speakers in pressure groups, increased middle-class female employment, securing a series of landmark reforms which resulted in female enfranchisement for women from 30 years old in 1918. There was the gradual transformation of the image of women from one relegated to the home front to a confident, economically progressive, authoritative, poised woman who today takes part in various walks of life (Curran, 2002b,2009; Stuart, 2008). However, New Zealand preceded Britain in the adoption of women suffrage in 1893 and voted in the first female public office holder in the British Empire, in the same year (Mogford, 1993.)

The third narrative is the populist interpretation: cultural democracy, populist media history, and populist challenge (Curran 2002b; 2009; Stuart 2008). It evaluates that in earlier media history, what was in place was the predominance of views of the 'Victorian intelligentsia' and their heirs who sought to force their cultural preferences on the people (Curran, 2009). But with the advent of each new medium (this phrase introduced the term new journalism which is still continually evolving) such as the film, radio, gramophone and television, there was a shift from paternalism to consumerism (Stuart, 2008).

On the other hand, the growth of consumer media is viewed more positively in celebratory accounts of the growth of modern consumer society. The rise of the consumer led to the development of the mass market that can be described as "an agency that extended social access to new cultural experiences empowered the public and rendered

the producer responsive to popular demand” (Curran, 2002b, p.140; Fourie, 2010). The relevance of the mass market supported the populist media which made newspapers a democratic instrument, available to all.

The period according to Curran (2002b), also witnessed the popularity of the daily newspapers, which became appealing with layout becoming more accessible; its tone more assertive; and more space allocated to human interest stories, crime, and sport. The changes, extended to the content of other forms of media like the radio, film, television, which followed. The Second World War also established public service media with appealing entertainment content. It further helped with the advent of commercial television. There was now more than ever before a desire to please people (Curran, 2002a; Curran & Seaton, 2009; Matic, 2010).

Also, the populist media narrative is said to have identified a cumulative and progressive change in the content and management of the media. The populist narrative also portrays a symbolic victory, in which the preferences of the people were accorded new respect and recognised as having cultural validity in a democratic age (Curran, 2002b,2009). Such victory is necessary for the practice of representative democracy.

The fourth perspective of competing or alternative narrative is the libertarian media history, also called the libertarian interpretation, or the history of culture wars (Curran 2002b; 2009; Stuart 2008). These terms are each a variant of the other, but the description given to this period by each author is similar. The libertarian media reflects the struggle between the liberal media history which describes moral traditionalism and the libertarian which depicts moral pluralism.

Curran (2002b, p.143) states that the indication of the media was

“a cumulative process of de-Christianisation, a gradual growth of individualism in response to the consolidation of the market system, and the decline of the factory, trade unions, churches, local neighbourhood and the extended family as socialising agencies.”

Of course, there was strong resistance from the traditionalist against the rising tide of individualism, a presentation of different lifestyles, a significant review of the moral order and extensive law reforms (Curran, 2002b).

The libertarian period further illustrates periodic cultural wars between sexual minority cultures, for example, gay men and lesbians, unmarried women, discrimination on the

basis by age, class, gender, and ethnicity (Stuart, 2008). All these reflect in the writings and programs of the various media. The media presented these groups in stereotypes and exaggerated ways, but later describes the gradual toning down of prejudices against opposing beliefs. It accompanied a shift of social attitudes which made those otherwise societal minorities become accepted within the public. By the turn of the century, gay people especially were seen as ordinary people (Gleeber 2004; Cooke 2003 in Curran, 2009).

The political description of New Zealand and Nigeria depicts diverse groups in society (see chapter 3, 6&7). The importance or relevance of the libertarian narrative is in the sense that both New Zealand and Nigeria, have these different minority cultures. However, the description of the political content of the newspapers does not vividly reflect these groups. For example, the analysed contents of newspapers in New Zealand does not explicitly mention the Maori group. Neither were the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, except in political advertisements and advertorials. Nonetheless, there was no specific focus in measuring the level of portrayal or the exclusion of any of these groups in this study.

The fifth form of competing narrative is the anthropological media history, anthropological/nation identities, and nation-building (Curran, 2002b,2009; Stuart, 2008). This aspect has been discussed earlier in section 2.2. The theory hinge on the concept of the nation as an imagined political community. Such a society is made up of people with different languages, religions, histories, traditions, and identity. The media is thereby pitched up against these variant groups and is vested with the role of ensuring a point of unity and equal representation (Stuart, 2008). The nation is partly a cultural construct where the media plays a crucial role in fostering her national identity (Curran, 2009). The narrative here situates well with the facilitative media roles that the content analysis data examine.

Curran (2002b) states that another example is the role of the British press in the reflection of Protestant Britain in contrast to Catholic European nations. He buttresses this by saying that "Britain is a conglomerate made up of different nations, with divergent histories, religions, traditions and cultures" (Curran, 2002b,p.144). The print press, therefore, promulgated the themes of the Empire as an adventure story and worthy project. It also brought about a sense of unifying appeal of imperialism which had a

foundation in a shared material interest. The expectation here is for the press to reflect the varying interest in society in the communicative sphere of their newspapers. There should be the balance of power, and the portrayal of political news should be in the general interest of society.

The success of the media of the period illustrate the descriptions of Britain as:

A small nation had built the largest, formal empire ever recorded in human history because of the strength of national character. To be British, and have British characteristics, was to share in this imperial triumph (Curran, 2002b, p.145).

There was, however, a demise of this form of imperialism in the late twentieth century. The press once again presented Britain as a recuperated nation, the victor of short, exciting debate and regenerated through a return to traditional values. It also led to an embracing of people from other denominations and religions, and even those without religious affiliation (Curran, 2009).

The sixth form of competing media history is the radical or radical challenge or radical narrative/reassertion of the elite's control (Curran, 2002b,2009; Stuart, 2008). The focus of this narrative is on the second aspect of Jürgen Habermas theory of the Public Sphere, which is the decline of the public sphere because of control by the elites. Systems of control are said to have converged, much to the detriment of free expression. The media came broadly to support the social order as a result of control by the markets, state, and elite cultural power (Stuart, 2008). Therefore, there was a rise of an organised working-class movement which became more radical with their popular press. This conferred publicity on working class and encouraged readers to see society from a more critical perspective (Curran, 2009).

The radical tradition underscores the liberal account of the winning of media freedom from the government by arguing that the media never became fully independent of the underlying structure of power. As a consequence of controls exerted through the market, state and elite ideological power, the media came broadly to support the social order. Indeed, instead of empowering the people, the media facilitated their subordination by engineering consent for the hierarchical social system (Curran, 2002b, p.148).

The radical narrative also supports the conventional theory on the role of the media in a democracy, which is the radical function. The narrative depicts a high level of professional standard by the media in the discharge of the watchdog role. The role

measures from the content analysis data of New Zealand and Nigeria. Chapters four, six seven and other relevant parts of the thesis discuss the implication of the data.

Curran (2002b) did not identify the technological determinism model initially but had criticised its existence. His stance was later to change in 2009 when he recognises and confirmed it as a form of media history narration (Curran 2002b; 2009; Stuart 2008).

Under this narrative, communication technology is the autonomous cause of change. The media is viewed as possessing some inner technological logic. It opposes the narration of the invention, development, and application of new communication technology as outside the influence of the contextual society. The view earlier propagated by McLuhan (1954) and later affirmed by Deuze (2012) who state that the media is technologically sensitive.

The technological innovation narrative adoption in this study impact on the process of covering the government political activities and representative democracy in the media generally. The interview data discussed in chapter 8-11, confirms a form of challenges from the use of the newspaper website, within New Zealand media. Most importantly, it helps the process of engagement of the electorates in an election period. Although the Nigeria journalists and editors also confirm the presence of its adoption in their newspapers, they also noted the need to improve their training and exposures in its usage. Another side effect of the enactment of technological innovation is its output of profit maximisation. The narrative, therefore, ties up with its influence on the commercialisation of the media and the subsequent effect of the portrayal of democracy (Fenton, 2010b; Pavlik, 1996).

The lengthy description of media history from two important perspectives first looked at the general history of the newspaper and the technology that influences it. Second, there was an identification of what the media was used to effect in varying spaces and times of society. These narratives are used to form a basis for the development of the thesis. The historical development of the newspapers and its subsequent roles in each of the countries in this research stems from their link to the history or histories of Britain examined.

One consequence of this historical approach is that the newspaper is not studied in regard to a unitary state, but subject to social forces. New Zealand democracy is an established

democracy, and Nigerian democracy is an emerging democracy not in terms of a model of the 'right' relationship between media and power but concerning the local forces in each country and the functions of their newspapers. The thesis follows the assumption that no two press systems are the same (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Hardy, 2012). The extent of the similarities and differences will, therefore, be explored from the perspective of their media history.

## **2.6 A CUMULATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPER HISTORY**

Interestingly too, the general printing press preceded the emergence of the newspaper in New Zealand, which was made possible by the European missionaries. The second source was from the efforts of the settlers from Britain. Both groups came from a world much advanced in printing technology and other media discoveries by that time, which also supported the emergence. There was a need for the missionaries to provide a form of education and religious publications, and then circulate information on the colonial governor's political activities, the settlers' economic activities and other information from all around the world (Rees-Jones, 2015).

The need led to the establishment of the first set of newspapers in two different locations. These were *New Zealand Gazette* and *Wellington Spectator* (21 August 1839-25 September 1844) in Wellington. The papers were first printed in London by Edward Gibbon of the Wakefield New Zealand Company before his arrival in New Zealand. The printing continued afterwards in New Zealand with the printing press managed by Samuel Revans. The newspaper, therefore, started as a privately owned and commercial enterprise. That private ownership led it to be supportive of its proprietor but antagonistic to the policies of the colonial government, with which New Zealand Company was in tension (Elenio, 2014; Patrick, 1990).

The second set of the newspaper is *New Zealand Advertiser* and *Bay of Islands Gazette* (15 June – 10 December 1840) in Russell, started as a government newspaper. Contrary to the expectation of the colonial government, this newspaper took a radical stand against the issue of land acquisition and some other government policies. It even refused advertisements from the colonial government. The Mission Press at Paihia printed the first edition but sanctioned Rev. Barzillai Quaipe who edited it. The newspaper therefore folded up after the publication of the 27<sup>th</sup> edition. The third main newspaper in New Zealand is *Herald and Auckland Gazette* (10 July 1841-6<sup>th</sup> April 1842). The newspaper

started in Auckland, and it also came into conflict with the colonial administration through their editorial policy on land issues (Hastings, 2013; Patrick, 1990)

The trend during the colonial era was for the newspaper to start in all major settlements or regions in New Zealand. Some regions ended up having more than one newspaper. A total of 18 newspapers published vary from the period of colonial governance, the agitations for self-government, the 1853 elections and the conferment of the dominion status on New Zealand (Patrick, 1990). Most newspapers had an unstable beginning, which led to some early closures. However, with time, the press was able to attain an independent role in politics and governance and reflect the dynamics of happenings in the colonial society and, in some areas, the Maori society. The newspapers played a pivotal role to the extent that core numbers of the first set of politicians who won the 1853 elections were 'newspapermen' (Hastings, 2013, p.243).

There was a shift in the roles of newspapers after the 1853 elections. Since the newly elected politicians were mostly patrons of their newspapers, they became partisan supporters of differing factions of politicians. Also, the commercial focus of these newspapers was more established with the introduction of subscription prices every year and mailing lists of the subscribers. The fees vary from one newspaper to the other. The revenue however at first did not generate profitable returns as expected due to political leanings of each regional newspaper. But with the advent of the gold rush era and publishing of daily newspapers, starting with the *Otago Daily Times* in 1861, there was an increase in profit returns.

The period of the gold rush also ushered in professionalism of journalism. Journalists were employed and paid to work full time with newspapers and not because of their political affiliations (Derby, 2014b). Furthermore, between the periods of 1900-1939, New Zealand population had increased to almost a million, and there were about 64 daily newspapers. There were increased profitability levels for the owners of the newspapers, so much as to diminish their reliance on political patrons. There was increased productivity which was more comfortable since electricity powers the printing presses (Derby, 2014d).

Between 1940 and 2000, the decline of the dominance of the newspaper as a form of media communication was first because of the Second World War, which caused difficulty in the procurement of newsprint (Derby, 2014a). Secondly, other media like the radio and



television became a competitor. There was also an increase in the transfer of newspapers to limited owners (Derby, 2014a). The year 1960 marked the beginning of formal training for journalists. Other features of this age were offset printing, colour photos, computerised typesetting, and electronic copies to staff. Newspaper numbers were 29 in 1999. There was an increase in advertising over this post-war period which generated 70% of the income for newspapers (Derby, 2014a).

Additionally, there is a shift from the readership of the hard print copies to online newspapers due to the advent of the internet. Although readership has fluctuated over the years and predicted about to die, the continuous presence of community newspapers with their adherents' readers has helped to slow the decline (Buchanan, 2013; Derby, 2014c).

The circulation of newspapers in New Zealand appears to also be in decline as more subscribers are turning to the online version. The variance for the average net circulation of four leading newspapers for 2016 and 2017 range between -3.27, -6.93, -9.82, -10.35 per cent (Audit Bureau of circulation 2018). In the words of a New Zealand newspaper editor, Nicola Coburn "Digital audiences are growing rapidly, people are slowly moving away from print, and advertising revenues are declining. At some point in the future, we will not be able to sustain a daily newspaper" (Fresne, 2017, p.1). This worsened as there is no paywall for dominant newspapers which makes access to news through the social platform a more accessible option than the hard copies (Myllylahti, 2014).

## **2.7 HISTORY OF NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS**

To fully understand the practice and challenges of the Nigerian newspaper, it is ideal to be familiar with the historical precedents. Several historical figures contributed to the growth and development of newspapers in Nigeria. Their roles and contributions are examined to be able to justify the data gathered from the content analysis and responses from the in-depth interviews. The narration will form a foundation for the various answers to the research questions on government political activities and representative democracy.

### **2.7.1. THE MISSIONARIES' ROLES**

The earlier history of newspapers shows that the spread was made possible by movement (Briggs & Burke, 2002b). Nigerian media links to the various roles the missionaries played in establishing first printing and newspapers in society. Specifically,

newspaper history predates other media types in Nigeria. Reflections from the history of the media, newspapers, and other forms, enumerated earlier, show that, down the decades, globally it usually develops within societal, technological, political, and religious factors (Adrian, 2012; Bastiansen, 2008). The Nigerian press can be thought of as older than the Nigerian nation (Oso et al., 2011).

Nigerian newspaper history dates back to an introduction of a newspaper called the *Iwe Irohin fun won Ara Egba ati Yoruba*<sup>1</sup> by a missionary, Rev. Henry Townsend on December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1859 (Duyile, 2004; Semiu, 2015). The successful advent of the first newspaper in 1859, which has up till date referred to as the most significant pioneering effort of an individual in the history of journalism and newspaper production in Nigeria was only paralleled 64 years later (Duyile, 2004). It was a singular effort of the establishment of a newspaper in spite of lack of trained printers, and the use of crude technical means. There were also incessant inter-tribal wars, and he still had to grapple with his primary duties of being a Missionary cum administrator (Babalola, 2002).

The second newspaper published became the first political newspaper due to its content. The *Iwe Irohin fun won Ara Egba ati Yoruba*<sup>1</sup> had restricted itself solely to covering religious news. The newspaper titled the '*Anglo African*' in 1863, was much embraced by the colonial government which supported it through government advertisements. The missionaries had established printing in 1846 in Calabar, Eastern Nigeria. It was by the Rev. Hope Waddell, a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. But he did not publish a newspaper until 1885. Printing also assisted Reverend Henry Townsend in the successful launch of the first newspaper. He established the first printing press in south-west Nigeria. These precedents remind us of the same trend earlier studied in the European and American history of newspapers and even in New Zealand. Printing presses usually predate the establishment of the newspaper.

However, the era of commercialisation of printing and subsequently the newspapers have often been attributed to the Rev. Hope Waddell's efforts. His first focus on printing were on large numbers of Bible lessons, arithmetic books, almanacs, and others. These two pioneers of printing, Rev. Townsend and Rev Waddell also established apprenticeships which resulted in the era of most of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century printers. They

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<sup>1</sup> A newspaper for the people of Egba( a tribe in south-west Nigeria) and Yoruba ( one of the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria)

formed the beginning of the press as journalists and writers were not common in those days. They, therefore, could be referred to as the pioneer of professionalism and worked for the advancement of the newspapers.

The third newspaper was *Lagos Times and Gold Coast Advertiser* in 1880 (Duyile 2004). One distinguishing factor, which was also predominant in the first and second newspapers, is seen in the fact that the publishers were former printers. It establishes the fact earlier seen in the history of the media where the development or invention of a technological means such as printing aided the growth of the newspapers. This same scenario has played out in Nigeria.

### **2.7.2 NATIONALISTS AND JOURNALISTS AS NEWSPAPERS PIONEERS**

Although religion was pivotal in the introduction of newspapers to Nigeria, its growth and expansion were closely related to politics which is referred to as her 'Siamese twin' (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016, p.234). The roles of the media shown in competing narratives such as radical, liberal, libertarian, populists, and the Nation-building in Britain motivated and led to rising of militant British educated journalists. These were returnees from studying in Britain, who arrived at the onset of agitations for self-government, established newspapers and subsequently tailored it towards the tendencies of competing narratives (Falola & Heaton, 2008). These pioneer of Nigerian press who often had political ambitions and influence and fondly referred to as the "nationalist fathers" (Duyile, 2004, p.4). They advanced the business of the newspaper and use it 'to propagate political ideas, to fight colonial injustice, to seek and demand freedom; to protect the people's interests and to educate them...' (Duyile, 2004, p.4).

Between 1859 and 1921, there existed twelve different newspapers with varying lifespans, but most shared a similarity in their interests which was the subject of politics. Examples are *Lagos Observer* 1882 by Andrew Thomas and the *Eagle and Lagos Critic* 1883 by Owens Emeric Macaulay. However, the tone of these newspapers varied as some were supportive of the colonial administration like *Nigerian Pioneer* (1914) by Kitoye Ajasa and expressed conservative views, others were critical. The critical press appears more and thus began the era of radical journalism or otherwise known as the nationalist movement carried forward by the newspaper press. Some of the journalists and colonial government critics at that time were the *Lagos Weekly Record* 1890, edited by John Payne Jackson and Thomas Horatio Jackson. Their publication incensed the colonial

government, and a seditious offences ordinance of 1909 was passed into law. The editorial criticising this law resulted in a jail term for the editor (Babalola, 2002; Duyile, 2004).

The advent of the nationalists' movement thus punctured colonial rule in Nigeria. In the words of Eluwa, he describes nationalism and the means used as:

A variety of manifestation movements, thoughts, events, and activities such as armed conflicts, resistance, and use of newspaper, the formation of political organisations, mass rallies, demonstration, and delegation in some cases carried out to prosecute their anti-colonial nationalist objectives (Eluwa et al 1996, p.205 in Shittu, 2013).

Nationalism has been viewed from different perspectives by various scholars. Some see it as a means to ensure "political reform at the local level, unity at the cultural nationality level, federalism at the national level, and the assumption of leadership" Sklar (1965, p.203). Others see it as

"crude and oversimplified, expression of the dogmas of European political theory by intellectuals leading mass-movements of detribalised Africans and as an indignant protest made in the belief that the British had deprived the traditional rulers of all independence" (Flint 1960, p.181).

In both instances, the newspapers play a critical role in mobilisation and socialisation.

One of the pioneering journalists, Sir Herbert Macaulay founded the first organised political party in Nigeria called the *Nigerian National Democratic Party*. He also jointly owned the *Lagos Daily News* newspaper 1925-1936 with Victor Bababomi. The duo propelled his image as a formidable politician cum journalist. He was able to use his newspapers to advance his political career and won council seats, opposed incumbent colonial government and local authorities (Sklar, 2015).

*The Comet* 1938 founded by Duse Mohammed Ali boasted regular writers such as Chief Osadebey, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Fred Anyim. These were all later Nigeria's political leaders. There were also regional and indigenous language-based newspapers

such as *The Uwana*<sup>2</sup> *Efik*<sup>3</sup> 1886, *Eko Akete*<sup>4</sup> 1920, *Egba*<sup>5</sup> *National Harper* 1926, and *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*<sup>6</sup> 1939 (Semiu, 2015).

Another, politician, journalist, and nationalist Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904-1996), who later became the first Nigerian President, began his career as editor of the Gold Coast *African Morning Post* in 1934-1937. The newspaper:

Concentrated on politicising a mass audience with simple, hard-hitting, and often scurrilous language, circulation was the key to financial as well as political success and Azikiwe raised sales from 2,000 a day initially to 10,000 daily by 1936. It shows a stage in the transformation of elite nationalism from little more than a debating forum into a political movement in which the educated elite began to pull mass support away from the chiefs and 'native authorities' who had hitherto monopolised political influence, and upon whom the indirect rule system of administration relied (Flint, 1999, p.146).

The paper further promoted the commercialised press, which was motivated by the principles of radical journalism, seen as a needed process for the actualisation self-government in Africa. Azikiwe was further seen to reflect that the American press evolution history also has an impact on the successful launch of the Nigeria press and that:

"In many respects, he represented an archetype of the African nationalist leader and was an important pioneer of African nationalist movements. He was the first of the future African political leaders to migrate to the United States for university education, he was the founder of the West African nationalist newspaper industry, the first to organize a colony-wide party seeking national self-determination and to attract to himself that 'charisma' which became so characteristic of the later stages of African nationalism in the decade before independence" (Flint, 1999, pp.143-144).

He later acquired a printing press in line with the printing press regulation of 1933 (the law states that a publisher of a newspaper must first own and operate a printing press) and started the *West African Pilot* newspaper in Nigeria in 1937. Two reasons advanced for the establishment of this newspaper; to serve the nationalist struggle against colonialism and as a business venture. By 1939 the newspaper had a circulation of close to 10,000 and 40,000 by the late 1940s. There were printing presses set up in the three

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<sup>2</sup> Bright

<sup>3</sup> A tribe in South-Eastern Nigeria

<sup>4</sup> The Island of Lagos

<sup>5</sup> The name of a tribe in south-west Nigeria

<sup>6</sup> Truth is worth more than penny

regions of Nigeria, Eastern region, *Eastern Nigeria Guardian*, Western and the Northern region where he bought over *the Comet*. The colonial government's denial of advertising revenue and the Second World War affected its circulation figures (Azikiwe, 1970; Falola & Genova, 2009; Idemili, 1978). His political involvement included leading the Lagos Youth movement and later founding the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) (Sklar, 2015).

Alongside the development of the nationalist newspaper, the colonial era featured government-owned newspapers. The period began with the acquisition of Ernest Sesei Ikoli's *African Messenger* 1921 by Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company Limited. It became known as Nigerian *Daily Times* which Ikoli also edited. It was first set up as a commercial newspaper that served the colonial government of the day well who were her principal patron (Oso, 1991). It later was renamed the *Daily Times* and by 1925 *The Daily Times* pioneered a more advanced and modern printing technology in Nigeria as the London *Daily Mirror* managed it. The government also established the *New Nigerian* for the Northern Region of the country in 1966 (Babalola, 2002; Dudley, 2013).

Thus, began the era of the two strands of Nigerian press, the Government-owned newspapers and the Independent or privately owned. The 1950s further intensified the development of the independent newspapers established for political motives. Nigeria's administrators were at this time gradually winding up the colonial rule and enabling self-government, which came on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

Some newspapers established at such time was *The Telegraph* which was a brainchild of Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons. The Action Group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo had founded Nigerian *Tribune* in 1949. He also partnered with a British/Canadian press group and started the *Daily Express* in 1959. By 1960, the *West African Pilot* supporting the Eastern region views of Nnamdi Azikiwe, the *Daily Express* supporting the western region views of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and the *Daily Times* supporting the British Government view were used for the campaign of the 1959 Federal election which ushered in Nigerian independence (Falola & Genova, 2009; Flint, 1999; Idemili, 1978; Ojo, 2003; Sklar, 2015).

A historical analysis, therefore, suggests that the newspaper has always played a critical and decisive role in the elections of Nigeria. The evidence of the influence of British newspaper history and use show in the manner of development of the newspaper in

Nigeria. The newspaper publication also started as a means of education by the missionary but soon became a political motivator for accomplishing self-rule. In addition to these roles, there were the commercial outputs the newspapers provide for their publishers. There was an internal consistency in the different roles played by the newspapers, but the question of the thesis is if commercialised newspapers in Nigeria still have this balance in their portrayal of political news in an election year. The next section will discuss more of the radical roles of Nigerian newspapers.

### **2.7.3 POST-INDEPENDENCE NEWSPAPERS**

Immediately after independence the *Pilot* and the *Daily Express*, both independent newspapers, phased out due to political crisis and persecution of their publishers leaving the stage for the *Daily Times* newspapers as the voice of a newly independent nation. Its survival was primarily due to government support through advertisement revenue and quality production. However, this trend did not continue for too long as around the 1970s and 1980s, the privately-owned newspapers once again gained prominence with the introduction of newspapers like *Concord* 1979, *Guardian* 1983, *The Punch* 1973, *Vanguard* 1983, and the continued existence of *Nigerian Tribune*. These were fully fledged commercialised newspapers (Albert, 2010; Campbell, 1994; Kalejaiye, 2009; Olayiwola, 1991).

This era of newspapers experienced some military dictatorships rule in Nigeria between 1983 and 1998. Mohammed Babangida was a military dictator who came into power in Nigeria through coup d'état in 1985. He ruled the country from 27th of August 1985 to 27<sup>th</sup> August 1993. A United States Department of States publication describes his curtailment of liberal freedoms:

The Babangida regime regularly relied on arbitrary arrest and detention as a means of silencing its critics. It closed media houses critical of Babangida's nullification of the June 12 election and announced a series of draconian decrees restricting press freedom. Like other military decrees, they contained clauses prohibiting judicial review. Security services routinely harassed human rights and pro-democracy groups, journalists, and student activists. Other human rights problems included extrajudicial killings, police brutality, dangerous and unsanitary prison conditions, violence and discrimination against women, and infringements on freedom of speech, press, travel, and political and labour affiliation (States, 1994).

It was an era of newspaper house proscription, the jailing of journalists, the assassination of a former *New York Times* journalist, (Mr Dele Giwa) through a letter bomb in 1986 and

an imposition of fines and promulgation of decrees by the military government against the media (Adams, 1994; Ekpu, 1990; Maja-Pearce, 1994). Specifically, under the military dictatorship of General Babangida and Abacha, the Nigerian press suffered extremely in an exceptional way to none in Africa at that time. Some of the trials were meted out coupled with those earlier mentioned were in forms of

detention without trials, imprisonment without due process, constant security and police visitation to newspaper houses, frequent 'invitations' to journalists and editors for security questioning, proscription of and arson against critical newspapers and journals, counterfeiting opposition newspapers to discredit them, smear campaigns against journalists, bribery and infiltration of media ranks to stain their credibility (Olorunyomi, 1996 p.69).

The press once again became militant, daring, and proactive in their publications and often reverted with more aggression and determination in the tone of publication after each attack. Indeed, this was another peak of the radical press alongside the period of Nationalism (Olukoyun, 2004). Political magazines publications such as the *News watch* 1986, *Tell magazines* and *The News* were also vibrant during this period. They specialised in in-depth features which investigated abuses. They were also severally attacked and prosecuted by the military government (Ekpu, 1990; Eribo, 1997; Olukotun, 2002).

The crop of journalists who work for these political magazines acted in the capacity of a 'presumptive parliament' at that time. They had experienced "an American-style tradition of investigative reporting, well-educated and politically committed and had undergone activist baptism of fire from the anti-apartheid and students' movements" (Olorunyomi, 1996 p.69). These exposures made the journalists able to engage in acts of 'defiant publishing and broadcasting' also referred to as 'guerrilla journalism' (Maringues, 1996; Dare, 2007). Newspapers and news magazines operated an alternative organ with the same political principles underground, despite government proscription. Olorunyomi (1996, p.73) further recollected that "reporters and editors had to write, edit and publish clandestinely in surreptitious locations" among whom he was. Newsrooms became highly decentralised into unsuspecting locations such as stadiums, theatres where editorial decisions were taken.

#### **2.7.4 NEWSPAPERS IN THE CURRENT DEMOCRATIC ERA, 1999 TILL DATE**

The history of the press in Nigeria once again picked up a new dimension with the swearing in of the fourth republic, of a democratically elected government in 1999. Technologically, the press had advanced so much that its tailors to the printing formats



of most developed nations of the world such as Britain and the US (Arunachalam, 1999; Ehikhamenor, 2002). There is also the promotion of freedom of information and an upsurge in information flow (Ola & Ojo, 2006).

Professionalism has been introduced through different certification in institutions of higher learning, as the country can boast of 54 universities and 26 Polytechnic offering mass communication, journalism, or other variants of the course (Oso, 2012). However, there appears to have been a decline in the militant sect of journalists, who were willing to stake all to get the news to a more subservient one (Nwosu, 1987; Uche, 1991). Nigerian press is presently riddled with a re-emerged form of regionalism in place of nationalist interest, burdened with economic challenges which constrain the production of newspapers (Ojo, 2003).

Nigerian newspapers in spite of its commercialisation, and seemingly market liberalisation has not been able to match this with the diversity of output. All newspapers in Nigeria are currently privately owned by individuals, and these publishers are divided along political affiliations, loyalties to advertisement patronage (Akoh et al., 2012; Oso, 2012). Although they claim to be National, most are regional in their circulation and readership base with the average daily circulation range between 70,000 and 180,000 in 2017 (Abiodun, 2018).

Nigerian press played a noticeable role in effecting the recourse back to a democratic means of governance in 1999 (Olutokun & Seteolu, 2001). However, in comparison with the earlier competing media history sections, the needed intervening streams to establish democracy by the press have been abandoned (Curran, 2002b). Among such is that they have not created a unique niche for the feminist press or specially promoted women participation in democracy. The feminist voice has always been used as a measurement of the level of democracy of any government since women constitute a historically marginalised and oppressed group (Mama, 1995). For example, in the recent abduction of 200 schoolgirls by the insurgents, the social media were more actively engaged in the campaign against the act than the newspapers (Khoja-Moolji, 2015; Loken, 2014).

Moreover, the press is not an ardent advocate for the establishment of Nigerian nationhood in accordance with their professional expectation. The term Nigerian press is; therefore, a mirage as Nigerian nationhood is (Abdul Raufu, 1986). Even the liberal dimension to the press and democracy failed at a time especially after the 2007 election

(Odion-Akhaine, 2009). The pluralist's expectation from the press aim at making the media autonomous from the state but rather threatens a leading institution of the public sphere. There is no balance in the power structure between the press, the state and other stakeholders in democracy (Oso, 2013).

Overall, the ethical foundations and press laws of the media are also often disregarded by both practitioners and regulators. In fact, the regulatory bodies have become 'toothless bulldogs' promoting their selfish whims (Ogbondah, 2017; Omenugha & Oji 2008; Onyedike, 1984) There are rampant cases of bribery and corruption among Nigerian journalists and the term brown envelope is becoming endemic to the practice of journalism (Nwabueze, 2010; Skjerdal, 2010b).

The lack of an enabling environment created by the joint forces of the Nigerian economic recession and lackadaisical organisational attitudes are responsible for some of these misdemeanours. Nonetheless, there are the patriotic few who despite lack of necessary incentives, regular salary and conducive working environments, state of the art technological gadgets, still forge ahead in their duties (Jibo, 2003; Omoera, 2010).

## **CHAPTER THREE: DEMOCRACY, REPRESENTATIONAL DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC SPHERE, AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA.**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Once again it should be reiterated that the thesis primarily focuses on three interrelated topics which are the commercialised newspapers; journalists and editors' roles in an election news coverage; contents and dissemination of news in an established and emerging democracy. Chapter two has elaborated the history, trends of development, societal, cultural roles, and influence of newspapers. As a follow up to the cultural role of the newspaper, this chapter discusses democracy as a system of government of the two countries under examination in this study, practice, and the portrayal of their elections in the newspapers. The four research questions adopted are concerned with the extent of newspapers' role in a democracy. What then is a democracy, more specifically a representative democracy and how is it measured and termed as established or emerging?

To discuss the different aspects of democracy, the public sphere theory is a central theoretical hinge that is also discussed in this chapter. The chapter will also describe the political landscape or democratic journeys of New Zealand and Nigeria illuminating what forms of democracy exist in these countries. There is also a summary account of the September 2014 New Zealand general election and the March 2015 Nigerian presidential election. The last section will examine Christians' (2009) normative theory, of four media roles in a democracy and expectations that arise from the literature about the functions of media in a representative democracy. This part of the chapter helps to show the practical application of the media roles by the New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers during the coverage of the elections.

### **3. 2 VARIED DEFINITIONS OF DEMOCRACY**

The study of democracy draws on three sources which are the geographical environment, (usually these are the nation or country), its civil society (these are the people or groups), and its political institutions (particularly the elected representatives) (Lane & Ersson, 2003). Democracy is a system of "government that is determined by the citizens, based on the belief that all citizens have the freedom or liberty to decide the direction of their affairs" (Asogwa& Asemah, 2012, p.30). Democratic states are those in which the people not only possess sovereignty but are also responsible for forming the laws to which they are subject (either directly or through the election of representatives to make decisions

on their behalf) (Shorten, 2008). Also, the participants in a democracy must be able to understand one another with a form of effective communication that will require a shared language (Kymlicka, 2001). Democracy depends upon collective unity. The citizens are bound together by mutual solidarity, trust, and commitment so that democratic processes do not risk becoming poisoned by division and mutual suspicion (Taylor, 1993).

Sanderson (2011,p.125) identifies different configurations under which a democracy may operate. He specified the four primary characteristics of a fully developed democracy. These are:

- (1) Parliamentary or congregational bodies with a power base that is independent of Presidents or Prime Ministers.
- (2) The regular free and fair elections of government officials with the entire adult populations having the right to vote.
- (3) The responsibilities of other division of government to the parliament or legislature.
- (4) Individual rights and freedoms about the entire population and their general honouring.

Sanderson uses the above measurements to show that there are different types of democracies. Each of the variables shows the level of participation and representativeness of the democratic culture in a society. It further demonstrates what this study focuses on, which is a comparison between an established or stable democracy and emerging democracy. It is, therefore, interesting to see how these characteristics apply to the democracy situations of New Zealand and Nigeria.

Also, Thomas (2008) argues for the importance of both the deliberative and the egalitarian conception of democracy. The first realises the value of citizens engaging in free and reasoned discussion among equals and making decisions that are grounded in commonly acceptable values. The critical normative principle at work here bases on the principle of reasonableness which suggests that citizens will only propose terms of political association that other reasonable citizens can accept.

The egalitarian conception of democracy realises equality among citizens in the contexts of irresolvable disagreement on fundamental matters of political value. This realisation is backed up by the main idea of public equality which says despite differences among

persons about law, policy and their grounds, democracy is a way of publicly treating each person as an equal.

However, democracy sometimes stands in tension with the expertise to govern a state properly. People become experts at winning elections which often dominate democratic politics. Since most people are limited in knowledge, they are easily manipulated by those who specialise in the mass appeal to get them into office (Thomas, 2008). Nonetheless, democracy, as a system of government, is widely accepted and practised mainly in the last century (Sen, 1999).

The public sphere views newspapers contents as the democratic sphere or the political public sphere which examines the portrayal of government political activities and representative democracy (Habermas, 2010; Ruiz et al. 2011). Of concerns, therefore, is the various intervening variables such as sources cited in the newspapers' articles and the influence on democracy. Through the medium of political news, this study will examine how New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers reflected these democratic principles.

### **3.2.1 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

As varied as these definitions of democracy are, they share some similarities. It is evident that democracy is the government run by the vast or clear majority of the people. The definition of democracy is merely so because the members of society often elect the government in power. The members of society appoint those who represent their interest at the leadership level. There should be an assessment of how society uses the critical elements, which constitute the basis of every democratic society, in order to measure the level of democracy. These are equality, participation, majority rule, and minority rights, the rule of law and due process, respect for human rights, political pluralism, free and fair election, and division of power. These are also factors that predate representative democracy (Tyoden 2008 in Asogwa & Asemah, 2012,p.20).

Kemp argues that

Today's democracy is representative democracies where politics operates through an electoral system in which people vote for representatives who make decisions on behalf of the people (Kemp, 2013,p.11).

Bunnin and Yu (2004,p.168) state similarly:

The standard democratic form is the representative democracy, that is, rule by a group of representatives who are elected for limited periods directly or indirectly

by the people. A representative democracy governs through discussion and persuasion rather than by force. Decisions are generally made by majority vote so that policies will reflect at least to some degree the will or interests of the people. The primary legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government are separated, to prevent over-concentration of power. The values and principles underlying this form of government are liberty and equality, sometimes called democratic ideals.

In any country, it is often impossible for everyone to form a government, or practise direct democracy (Dalton & Weldon, 2013; Toplak, 2013). Thus, to ensure democracy, representation through an election, selection, and appointments are instituted. Representation makes democracy able to withstand challenges that might occur during its political lifespan (Joleen & Kishore, 2009). Some of such problems might be around the representativeness of democratic practice. A sparsely dispersed form of representation which features both the majority and the minority groups encouraged plurality and enhanced political engagement.

However, the bedrock of any representative democracy is election or voting (Twomey, 2013). The conduct of an election often is predicated on the quality of the voters, and it determines that of the elected representatives. The election is the testing ground for the various stakeholders in a democratic polity such as the politicians, the voters, the governments, the political parties, and the voluntary groups in society (Hug, 2009; Kölln et al., 2015; Le Maux, 2009). Representative democracy is participatory, and to offer room for plurality in society, and a means of achieving this end is the media (Berger, 1998; Carreira et al., 2016).

This section justifies the focus of the thesis on representative democracy. The aim is to confirm the relationship between the media of communication, the newspapers, and its potency of actualising its representative democratic capability. Newspapers are expected to provide a discursive sphere for all to deliberate, decide and interact with elected representatives. The levels of this representative democratic capability of the New Zealand and Nigeria newspapers will be discussed from data in chapters 6 & 7. But there is a need to justify the adoption of the terms established and emerging democracies as used in the thesis.

### **3.2.2 ESTABLISHED AND EMERGING DEMOCRACIES.**

An established or emerging democracy is not just an ordinary appellation. The terms need to be unpacked in terms of certain manifest or latent factors in countries that are practising democracies, resulting in these forms of codification. These factors are often used as a form of measurements to rate the 'quality of democracy' (QoD) by which each country operates (Andreev 2005, p. 6; Inkeles 1991). There are quite a few organisations such as the Freedom House a non-profit organisation based in the US, the index of Vanhanen and others which regularly monitor democratic governance (Freedom House 2017; Vanhanen 2004).

The late 1980s witnessed a global resurgence of the practice of representative democracy as a form of government replacing communism and autocratic regimes (Diamond & Plattner 1996). This resurgence led to the need to have the right way of measuring the quality of democracy (QoD). Many closely linked social science fields such as political science, sociology and anthropology are also involved in studying the process and quality of democracy (Andreev 2005).

### **3.2.3 DERIVATION OF THE TERMS**

The term QoD refers to the degree to which a system meets such democratic norms as representativeness, accountability, equality, and participation (Lijphart, 1993). It is also the procedure as to how the political policy organises the content of the regime's structure, systems and the result of government activities (Morlino, 2003). Several political comparative studies have examined the QoD of democracy resulting in their codification into established and emerging democracies depending on their placement along the continuum of these measurements. The basic summary of the QoD are: universal adult suffrage, recurring free competitive and fair elections, more than one committed political party, alternative sources of information, civil and political freedom, sovereignty of formal democratic institutions, transparency, and responsible rule (Altman & Pérez-Liñán 2002; Diamond & Morlino 2005; Lijphart, 2012).

Another dimension to consider the concepts of established and emerging democracy is to evaluate democracy from the perspective of the minimalists and the maximalist's definitions (Bühlmann, Merkel & Wessels 2008). This derived view in the US context, from both Daniel Webster's address in 1830 and Abraham's Lincoln famous Gettysburg's address using the phrase "government for the people, made by the people and

answerable to the people” (Lijphart, 2012). This statement places democracy along with a continuum of three definitions indicating the intensity in the adoptions of the practice and the effectiveness of democracy.

The first definition that forms one pole of the continuum is that democracy is a government of the people: elitist (Held, 2006). Elections conducted in this first type of democracy results into a form of effective governance, by ‘skilled representative elites’ but the electorates later become passive (Bühlmann, Merkel & Wessels 2008, p. 4; Wessels & Schmitt 2008).

The second progressive level of democracy is the government of the people and by the people which encourages representation and participation. There is adequate room for deliberation by the citizens in this type of democracy (Carpini, Cook & Jacobs 2004; Cohen 2007). It is in the medium ranking position (Bühlmann, Merkel & Wessels 2008; Przeworski 1999).

The third definition and other pole in the continuum of democracy is the maximalists’ form. It embraces all the three definitions which are, the government of the people by the people and for the people by Abraham Lincoln (Lijphart, 2012). This definition promotes equality in the forms of social, civil, and political rights (Norman, 2017; Ringen, 2009,2011). These three points on the continuum show the variations in the levels of practice of democratic governments.

All these factors are well entrenched in most democracies in developed countries of Europe, North America, and some parts of the Asia- Pacific.

This fact is further attested to by Lijphart (2012, p. 47) who explicitly stated that

Göran Therborn (1977, 11– 17) credits Australia and New Zealand with having established the first genuinely democratic systems of government in the first decade of the twentieth century. New Zealand has the most substantial claim because, as early as 1893, it was the first country to institute truly universal suffrage, that is, the right to vote for both men and women and the Maori minority; women, however, did not have the right to be candidates for public office until 1919.

Thus, the term established is applied as used by scholars to distinguish the active practice and applications of the principles of democracy (Bühlmann, Merkel & Wessels 2008; Cwalina, Falkowski & Kaid 2005; Krommendijk, 2015).

New Zealand is one of the world’s oldest and most enduring democracies (Miller, 2001, 2005). This young colony adopted the United Kingdom’s Westminster system of



government in 1852, including an elected lower house and small upper house. New Zealand later in 1867, created separate parliamentary seats for her indigenous Māori population (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004).

Although intended as a temporary measure then, ethnic representation has been a feature of parliamentary representation ever since. There was the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1879, and in 1893 New Zealand became the first country to extend the vote to all women (Miller, 2001, 2005).

The main concern here is the effect of commercialisation on New Zealand as an established democracy (parliamentary representative democratic monarchy) since 1907 and a Dominion. Today, New Zealand practises a form of modern democracy in which the news media participate. There is also a representative government where politics operates through an electoral system in which people vote for representatives, members of parliaments and local council representatives and for political parties. Those in parliament and government have discussions and make decisions on behalf of the public (Kemp, 2013). The consistency of the practice of this system of government has placed New Zealand at one end of a democratic continuum, as a stable democracy.

However, there are concerns about the impact of media commercialisation, given the small-scale media and the plights of the news media. Chapter four discusses more of the challenges of the news media.

On the other hand, in examining some of the indices for the quality of democracy (QoD) one of which is regular elections, it can be inferred that some countries are far behind on the index of expectations. Lindberg (2006, p. 143) confirms from his elaborate studies on African elections that

Focusing on elections has made it possible to include in a single study the complete universe of African cases with a potential to have or develop essential democratic qualities.

He summaries that

For some countries, the electoral experiences have—in contradiction to the central thesis of this book—resulted in a regression in democratic qualities, but two-thirds are slowly and steadily moving forward.

The above attestation goes to show that elections study in African countries including Nigeria is divided into three groups. Among these three groups, the third group experience the worst election, although the other two-thirds are also emerging towards

qualitative democratic governance (Lindberg 2006). Other factors include irregular transitional programmes, hybrid or electoral authoritarian regimes which result into patrimonial or "democracies" for the 'emerging regimes of Africa' are also prevalent (Diamond, 2002; 2015; Luckham 1995).

The Nigerian democratic landscape referred to as an emerging democracy, show some of these tendencies (Burnell & Gerrits 2010; Omoera 2010). Between 1960 (the year of her independence from the British colonial rule) and in 2015 (the election year under study in the thesis), Nigeria has experienced only 26 years of democratic governance.

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, and the largest economy in Africa, not until recently, has consistently practised democracy as her system of government. Nigeria for a long time has experienced what Beckett and Young (1997:3) referred to as "permanent transition in which Nigerian military rule legitimates a sense of progress toward creating its alternative to a democratic civil government".

At the time Beckett and Young wrote, Nigeria had only experienced a democratically elected Government for ten years. The period was between 1960-1966 and 1979-1983 (Beckett & Young, 1997). There were four different military coups d'état and governments before the general election of 1999 which ushered in a civilian and a democratically elected government, headed by Olusegun Obasanjo (though himself a former military head of state and commander in chief of Nigerian Army forces; more details on both countries is in chapter 3). Eventually, in 1999, Nigeria commenced an era of a consistent, democratically elected form of Government by conducting regular elections.

Nonetheless, New Zealand and Nigeria still share some similarities which is a basis for comparison in this work, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 12. But in a summarised form, one of the similarities is that Britain colonised both countries. They also practise democracy as their system of governance although with some differences from each other along the quality of democracy. In New Zealand, as mentioned earlier, the parliamentary representative democratic monarchy is practised whereas in Nigeria, the republican, bicameral legislative and federal system of democracy is practised. They both also have the English language as their form of official language and language of the media. Each country's historical antecedents, worldview, and perspectives shape their use of the English language, and it accepts as the official language of communication.

Linguistic differences must also be noted. New Zealand is a nation divided into two distinct ethnic groups, the Pakeha who migrated from Europe and the Maori (Polynesian-descended) the indigenous group. This history led to two different languages, the Maori language which is currently the subordinate language and New Zealand English which is the dominant group language (Kirkwood et al., 2005; Liu, 2005; Liu et al., 1999; Trudgill, 2008). News media communication is therefore always carried out with these two languages.

On the other hand, Nigeria, is a country geographically divided into three distinct cultures, languages and people with further sub-ethnic groups and languages which results in a situation of extreme linguistic fragmentation (Oyetade, 2003). The dominant three cultures and languages are the Yoruba people who speak the Yoruba language, the Igbo people who speak the Igbo language and the Hausa people who speak the Hausa language. Because of the size and population of Nigeria (186.05 million), the sub-ethnic groups (500 groups) have also become significant (MediaReach/OMP, 2015, 2016; Oyetade, 2003; Salawu & Hassan, 2011). A more detailed overview of the democratic journey of Nigerian and New Zealand political cultures will be reviewed after discussing the use of the public sphere theory.

### **3.3 THEORY OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE**

The study uses the theory of the public sphere to describe and define the quality of democracy as a sphere for deliberation and exchange. The newspaper is assumed to take on this role as the means of fostering the relationship among the various participants in a representative democracy (Habermas, 2010; Ruiz et al. 2011).

The public sphere is an area in social life where individuals can come together to discuss and identify societal problems freely and through that discussion, they influence political agenda. It is a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and where it is possible to reach a collective judgement (Garnham, 2007; Habermas, 1989).

The public sphere theory is unhampered by outside influence and hierarchical governance, but based on an idea of public reason. The public sphere is a medium for the formation of opinion, generates social participation, and promotes parliamentary corporations designed to translate the results of the ongoing public debate into state politics. A public sphere that is adequate to a democratic polity depends upon both the

quality of discourse and quantity of participation (Calhoun 1992). It is a forum in which the merits of the arguments and not the identities of the arguers are significant.

Historically, the public sphere first emerged in a form that consisted of property owners which made it an elitist public sphere but with time transformation occurred, and it expanded to include others. Although this inclusion of others affected the quality of the discourse, it is, an indication of progress in the direction of contemporary democracy, transforming the bourgeois public sphere into a mass (Calhoun 1992).

The individual became the pivotal point. The formation of the individual and his/her liberation from church coercion and predestination were, according to Enlightenment philosophy, a precondition for secular cultural education and the development of a modern society governed by cultural and political democracy. As a result, the role of liberal democracy was to reflect and safeguard this current view of culture as a human right (Duelund 2010).

The primary concern of public sphere theory is to evaluate how to facilitate public participation and debate over public affairs in a bid to promote participatory or deliberative democracy (Hans, 2005).

For democracy to survive and fulfil her mandate of being a form of governance for the specific people it represents there must be an avenue of discussion and for critical analysis and presentation of individual views. The media spectacle which is the arena for debate through which newspapers and other media types portray political issues and give room for engagements, participation, and discussions, exchange these views (Kellner, 2009). The media sphere reflects the characteristic of the public sphere.

The public sphere crossed over both these realms and through the vehicle of public opinion (the media), put the state in touch with the needs of society (Khan1, 2014). This public sphere is conceptually distinct from society. It is a site for the production and circulation of discourses that can in principle be critical of the state. In an ideal situation, it is distinct from the formal economy; it is not an arena of market relations but rather one of the discursive relations, a theatre for debating and deliberating rather than for buying and selling (Habermas, 1989; Torgerson, 2010).

The study of the public sphere centres on the idea of participatory democracy and how public opinion can become a political action. The public sphere steers political activity,

and the only legitimate governments are those that listen (Benhabib, 1992). The public sphere is, therefore, an expected, space of information generated by the media in democratic governance. Chapter 2 has revealed the historical antecedent of the newspapers and this chapter will further show the different configurations of the political public sphere in New Zealand and Nigeria. There are distinct challenges too which might hamper the portrayal of political news.

The public sphere simultaneously restructures and dominates the mass media. It develops into an arena infiltrated by power and uses topic selection and contributions, in which a battle is fought not only over influence, but the control of communication flows that affect behaviour while the strategic intentions are hidden as much as possible. The potential of the public sphere as a model of societal, public discourse or communicative action is different from the non-discursive modes of coordination which are the state power and market economy. These two are rivals of the democratic public sphere (Calhoun 1992).

The public sphere, then, is a space in which citizens deliberate about their everyday affairs and hence an institutionalised arena of discursive interaction. The public sphere is indispensable to critical social theory and democratic political practice (Fraser 1992).

### **3.3.1 FORMS OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE**

Habermas first defines the public sphere on the bourgeois public sphere of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the context of Enlightenment ideas and small-scale capitalism (Calhoun 1992). Duelund (2010) also notes that the historical nature of public sphere theory raises the question of what the adjective 'public' means regarding today's cultural policies and practices. Other considerations are whether the notion of a public sphere as set up in Habermas' classical works is still a useful concept in academic research on cultural practices? Calhoun (1992) states that the relationship between the 17th and 18th-century capitalism and the states created the bourgeois public sphere. Also, that Habermas examined the characteristics of the public and its transformation afterwards (Calhoun 1992).

Another observation by Calhoun (1992) is that there was an interplay among three components in society, which are the ruler, the private realm, and the public realm. The private domain equates to the civil society which stands against the state. The bourgeois

public sphere practises rational-critical discourse on political matters and that critical discourse entered the press in the eighteenth-century supplementing news with scholarly articles (Calhoun 1992).

The bourgeois sphere is a sphere of private people or even the government, who come together to claim the public sphere against public authorities or the people (Herman & McChesney, 1997). What made the bourgeois public sphere was not the class composition, but it was society that was bourgeois. Factors such as the early capitalist commercial economy and the rise of the national and territorial power of the states created the new sociability (Calhoun 1992). He further describes “the early bourgeois public sphere as composed of narrow segments of the European population, mainly educated, propertied men, who conducted a discourse not only exclusively of others but prejudicial of the interests of those excluded” (Calhoun 1992, p.3). They engage in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the mainly privatised but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labour (Duelund, 2010; Verstraeten, 1996).

Another form of the public sphere is the liberal public sphere, which was one of the rational debate, with universalistic politics and free from both the economy and the state. Habermas argues that the same forces that initially establish the public sphere destroyed it. The collapse was due to the consumerist drive that infiltrated society, so citizens became more concerned about consumption than political actions. Such a scenario plays out in the practice of commercialisation in today's media even under a democratic government. A form of the bourgeois public sphere is formed instead of the ideal way of the public sphere that is open and accessible to anyone with a critical idea, views, and opinions on any societal issues. The public sphere is ‘a theatre in modern societies’ (in this regard the print media in New Zealand and Nigeria) in which political participation enacts through the medium of talk (Fraser, 1990).

Benhabib (1992) affirms that liberalism is a type of political culture which considers legitimisation important. It is expressed through the power of public dialogue, based on certain conversational constraints, particularly neutrality. Democratic politics challenges redefine and renegotiate the divisions between the good and the just, the moral and the legal, the private and the public (Benhabib 1992, p. 83). Fraser identifies the existence of other non-liberal, non-bourgeois forces, competing for the public sphere which

Habermas had failed to acknowledge alongside the liberal bourgeois public sphere and its idealisation (Fraser 1992).

Public space is also a concept closely related to the theory of the public sphere. It is viewed democratically as the creation of procedures whereby those affected by general social norms and collective political decisions can have a say in their formulation, stipulation, and adoption (Hohendahl 1992). The public space has an agonistic view and an association view. The first view means a competitive area in which one competes for recognition, precedence, and acclaim and seeks a guarantee against the fragility of individual life. The second suggests space which men act together in concert and where freedom can appear. It is not a physical space but power as a force from this type of group results from a mutual action. The association view characterises the modern trend of public space in which the struggle of what gets accepted as the public agenda either economic, social, or political is a struggle for justice (Benhabib 1992).

Craig (2004) equates the public sphere to the public life and also an arena for public culture. He states that “the media give life to the public culture through the way they connect public figures to the public and give organisations and individuals involved in public life, provide a domain within which we make and experience the reasons values and pleasure of public life” (Craig, 2004, p.vii). Invariably, public life and public culture cannot exist without input from the media. The definitions and the forms of the public sphere both point to the acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy. The connection prompts the discussion of features of a functioning democratic public sphere.

### **3.3.2 FEATURES OF A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPHERE**

Democracy cannot be quantified but is related to self-determination, to the possibility of greater collective control by people over the political, social, and economic circumstances of their lives (Postone 1992). The public sphere in its mature form includes sufficient participation and sufficient representation of multiple interests and perspectives to permit most people to recognise themselves in its discourses. Under the welfare state and mass democracy, the bourgeois or liberal model of the public sphere is no longer feasible, but some new form of a public sphere is required to salvage that arena's critical function (Fraser 1992).

Fraser (1992, pp.118-129) further advocates for four such features that a functioning democratic sphere should possess. These are:

**1. Open access, participatory parity, and social equality:**

These three factors should form the basis for the operation of the functional democratic public sphere, instead of the existing act of bracketing inequalities of status. The limitations generate through some informal impediments to participatory parity such as the observance of protocols of style which had to be adhered to, exclusion or lack of equal access through the operational political-economic structures. Deliberation in this ideal public sphere or political democracy should demonstrate allowance for societal equality, open access, and participatory parity. Women and other minority groups in society should have room for expression of their views as to any other, to eliminate systemic social inequalities.

**2. Equality, Diversity and multiple publics:**

In a functional democratic public sphere, there should be a room for proliferation and multiplicity of competing publics. Such a development is a step toward greater democracy rather than away from it as earlier assumed. A single comprehensive public sphere cannot compare to a nexus of multiple publics. Societies can have two formations, one is the stratified society that operates a single, comprehensive public sphere but permits contestations among a plurality of competing publics. These publics are called the 'subaltern counter-publics' where members of subordinated social groups such as women, workers, people of colours, gays, and lesbians invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs. Although not all these deliberations have a democratic agenda as they operate in opposition to the general public sphere.

The second type is the egalitarian, multicultural societies, which are non-stratified societies and whose basic framework does not generate unequal social groups in structural relations of dominance and subordination. This form of functional democracy is more relevant than the first and reflects in societies without classes or racial discrimination of labour but are still multicultural. The functional democratic public sphere, therefore, is not a single comprehensive one but a plurality of public arena called a multiplicity of the public.



### **3. Public spheres, Common concerns and Private Interests:**

The next feature is that discourse in the public sphere restricts to deliberation about the common good and that the appearance of private interests and privacy issues should be undesirable. The public can mean a space that is state-related, accessible to everyone, of concern to everyone and about the common good or shared interest. Private refers to private property in a market economy and intimate domestic or personal life including sexual life. The functional democratic public sphere relates to civic republican model and achieves publicity or common good or shared interests. Fraser (1992 p. 129) further writes that the "model stresses a view of politics as people reasoning together to promote a common good that transcends the mere sum of individual preferences". Participants are changed from a "collection of self-seeking, private individuals into a public-spirited collectively, capable of acting together in common interests"(Fraser 1992 p. 129).

### **4. Strong publics, Weak Publics: Differentiation between civil society and the state:**

A functioning democratic public sphere should show significant distinctions between civil society and the state. Civil society is a connection of non-governmental or secondary associations that are neither economic nor administrative. Laissez-faire capitalism does not promote socio-economic equality, and there is a need for a politically regulated financial reorganisation and redistribution to achieve equality. Participation in the public sphere should not be undertaken in any official capacity or as state officials. The public sphere is not the state but the informally mobilised body of nongovernmental discursive opinion that can serve as a counterweight to the state. A weak public is one whose deliberation results in opinion formation alone. An active public is one whose discourse produces both opinion formation and decision making such as the parliamentarians. Nonetheless both forms of public are necessary for an egalitarian society.

Fraser (1992) also argues that any conception of the public sphere that does not require a sharp separation between civil society and the state will be unable to imagine forms of self-management, inter-public coordination and political accountability that are essential to a democratic and egalitarian society. The bourgeoisie public sphere is not adequate for contemporary critical theory, but rather, a post-bourgeoisie public sphere of a functional democratic public sphere would enable us to think about a strong, weak and other hybrids forms of public.

In spite of the laudable roles and influence of the public sphere theory on the practice of democracy, it is not without some forms of criticism which the subsequent section evaluates.

### **3.3.3 CRITIQUES OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE**

Habermas himself argues that some structural transformation came about on the public sphere through a re-feudalisation process which caused the private organisations to assume public power and the state penetrated the private realm. At a stage public opinion became a threat to individual views, hindering free critical thoughts and becoming a threat to the preservation of diversity. State and society interlocks and critical public discourse lose its way. Moreover, the state and corporate actors sought to manipulate social actors to conform to their needs rather than the state responding to them as an independent and critical public (Calhoun 1992). The thesis will study particularly in chapter 6 and 7, how far the scenario painted here is enacted during periods of democratic elections.

Public sphere theorists argue that further degeneration of the public sphere happened with inequality becoming the basis of discussion and action, as opposed to the past when it did not matter. General interests were replaced with a negotiated compromise thereby shifting the public sphere interests from critical debate to negotiation. The media caused a shift from the intensive involvement with cultural products to their mass consumption. The public sphere also became more of an arena for advertising than rational-critical debate (Calhoun 1992). Media texts and programmes are from these symbolic perspectives, cultural commodities, produced in what is effectively a culture industry, which circulates for profit within a market, and they are very much open to the effects of commercial pressures. Fairclough (1995) states that there is a long-term demise of the media as an active political public sphere, a space for rational debate and discussion of political issues under the influence of the process of commercialisation which goes back to the nineteenth century. Following Habermas, he also referred to this as 're-feudalisation' of the mediatised public sphere in which audiences become spectators rather than participants and are addressed as consumers (of entertainment) rather than as citizens (Duelund, 2010).

Chapter 4 of the thesis and the analysed data in 6 and 7 show evidence of this intrusion. The discussion of the interview data in chapters 8, 9, 10, and 11 further explores the

economic influences on the cultural essence of the media sphere from the newspaper's journalists' and editors' perspectives.

Political parties too were not left out as part of the structural transformation of the public sphere. These ceased to be groups of voters but rather bureaucratic organisations motivating voters. Legislators also became agents of political parties instead of siding with the constituents in rational thinking (Calhoun 1992).

Political thoughts create room for a public space, but the expansion of this sphere meant the disappearance of the universal concerns of the common for the political association. The transformation resulted in a pseudo-space of interaction in which individuals no longer act but merely behave as economic producers, consumers and urban city dwellers creating public space or publicity in political life (Benhabib 1992).

Another of the significant limitations of Habermas's original perception of the public sphere is the lack of clarification about the problems of a functioning public sphere in a pluralistic society, e.g. the patriarchal exclusion of women, and its homogeneity regarding class and shared cultural values (McCarthy 1992). This view is too inflexible for the concerns of modern pluralistic society. The ideal public sphere is free of these 'particular historical aspects that discriminate against individuals or groups in a given society and bases on egalitarian reciprocity' (Benhabib 1992; McCarthy 1992).

The relationship between the bourgeois public sphere and other participants unconsciously marginalised and excluded from the public sphere was conflictual. This conflict shows the limitation of the bourgeoisie public sphere which was a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate a new form of class rule (Fraser 1992). There were historical changes that undermine the liberal public sphere for example. The discourse was not meant to have a predetermined outcome or follow a learned process. Thoughts that led to the decline were questions around why the new role of masses in politics and the growth of formal democracy in the second half of the nineteenth century did not lead to an expanded, functional public sphere? The entry of the masses to the liberal public sphere associates with other social and economic processes that describe the transition from liberal to regulated capitalism (Postone 1992).

### **3.3.4 DIGITAL MEDIA AND PUBLIC SPHERE**

The thesis primarily examines the content of hardcopy newspapers as a form of the public sphere about its reflection of democracy in an election year. However, analysis of the data will need to be aware of the extent to which the influence of the online version creeps into production of the hardcopy newspapers (see the discussion on Letter to the editors in chapter 6 and 7 and the online version of newspapers' influence by New Zealand editors and journalists in chapter 8 &9).

There is an indissoluble link between institutions and practices of mass public communication and the institutions and practices of democratic politics (Garnham 1992). Digital media, particularly the social media space, has a networked population in the lower billions range globally, which consist of actors such as regular citizens, activists, non-governmental organisations, telecommunications firms, software provider and government. They are all having increasing access to information, engaging more in public speech, which has more influence on generating public action on a daily basis (Shirky 2011). Also, the emergence of the internet is essential for useful public discourse (Fuchs 2010). It changes the reader from being 'passive readers and listeners to potential speakers and participants, from spectators to creators and primary subjects. It is in this sense that the internet democratises and changes their relationship to the public sphere' (Benkler 2006, p. 272).

The internet or social media have also infiltrated the newspapers' sphere as it creates an 'opportunity for citizens – consumers to participate and express dissent with a public agenda within sphere referred to as virtual sphere 2.0 (Papacharissi 2008). Moreover, "comments in online news could be the contemporary enactment of the eighteenth-century cafés that founded the public sphere" (Ruiz et al. 2011, p. 463). The participatory journalism in digital media enables public arenas for citizen debate that are far more open, accessible, and efficient than the mechanisms of participation in the traditional media (Ruiz et al. 2011).

An undeniable link that has been shown earlier in the thesis is that of technology and civilisation. The invention of the printing press had an astounding influence on liberal democracy and nation-building as:

The coalition between the Protestant and print capitalism, exploiting cheap popular editions, quickly created large new residing publics-not least among

merchants and women who typically knew little or no Latin- and simultaneously mobilised them for politico-religious purposes. What made the new communities imaginable, in a positive sense, was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communication (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (Anderson 2016, p. 40).

Public debate also had a significant impact on the Habermasian public sphere and seen as reincarnated in today's networked society through the internet (Ruiz et al. 2011). Among these various social media methods, the opportunities for comments by readers from newspapers is the highest form of user-generated content (UGC). Although, the motive behind such enablement is to increase user loyalty and not primarily to foster democracy (Vujnovic et al. 2009). The newspaper editors and journalists have also continually ensured that they keep their gatekeeping roles (Singer et al. 2011). The overall impact of democracy is not missed as "real democracies define our capacity and competence to talk to one another" (Barber 2006, p.6). Three other areas for development of online public debate referred to as 'electronic democratic rhetoric' are that it creates opportunities at the community level. It also fosters the value of sharing as a collective form; from an individual-liberal perspective. It expresses individual interests from the standpoint of deliberation, and the internet is an extension of the public sphere, where critical and rational discussions hold (Dahlberg 2001).

Another variant of the internet is the 24 hours news syndrome both in the broadcast and online versions of newspapers, which is also called rolling news. This trend has increased the availability of news almost all forms of platforms such as mobile phones, work environments, social media, public libraries, reinventing McLuhan's global village or global public sphere (Cushion & Lewis 2010, Cottle & Rai 2010).

Nonetheless, scholars observe that the news media have not taken up these developments evenly, and this is partly because of the commercialised forms and the massive pressures from advertising (Herman & McChesney, 1997). There are also the challenges brought when news processes such as acute deadline pressures impact on the quality of news, which gives room for practices such as concentration and homogenization of news. It is a situation where the news media depends less on more sources, write fewer stories and journalists are de-skilling instead of multi-skilling (Phillips, 2011).

Such accessibility to the news continually is however not without some negative impacts on the newspaper as a public sphere or even democratic sphere in general. Among such influence, is that the 24 hours news is often majorly shaped by the consumer culture thus making news disposable and becoming a threat to democracy. Instead of supporting democracy through the advantage of extensive time and space, it instead manipulates viewers with its constant rush (Lewis 2010). There is also the practice referred to as 'Foxification of news as misinformation, gimmickry, comment, and opinion instead of straight reporting are used to politically influence audiences' (Cushion and Lewis 2009 p.132). The intensification of professional political advocacy is also a visible practice with the onslaught of the 24 hours news. Due to the need to churn out news on the go and news that is sensational enough to be tagged breaking news, the media has become more porous to politicians' wiles in controlling the news agenda (Blumler & Kavanagh 1999). This act invariably affects democracy and the effective functioning of the public sphere as access becomes limited and slanted.

The digital public sphere is not the direct focus of this thesis but with the proliferation of news media websites, the impact on journalists and editors practice and political news processes in an election cannot be overlooked. Bennett & Pfstsch (2018,p. 243) use the term "disrupted public spheres to describe the interaction with and beyond the traditional media. This rethinking also entails better conceptualisation and measurement of political influence of information flows from social media and digital newtworks". Since the newspaper, a traditonal form of media, is the focus of this study, it will be interesting to evaluate how other forms such as news websites could impinge on the content analysis data and expressed views from the editors and journalists.

Moreover, the thesis attempts to establish how the various forms of the public sphere can impinge on the effective democratic functioning of news media. The overlap can occur through the influences of commercialisation. For example, the public sphere represents individuals, government, civic groups, religious groups, corporations, transnational organisations, or any other group that are active participants in a democratic process. The appropriate participation of these groups enables the effective functioning of democracy.

The content analysis of the political news in New Zealand and Nigeria commercialised newspapers, reflect the levels of the portrayal of democratic discourse in their elections, which is equivalent to examining a crucial part of each country's public sphere. The newspaper represents the sphere for democratic discussion, information, and deliberation and highly active in an election. However, it is essential to discuss the democratic or political sphere as each plays out in Nigeria and New Zealand.

### **3.4 HISTORY OF NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC JOURNEY: PRE AND POST 1960.**

Nigeria is a country created by the colonial will of the British and given its name. The name Nigeria which means the Niger area was given in 1914, to represent the geographical location. The land mass encompasses areas around the River Niger making it the biggest country in West Africa (Falola & Genova, 2009; Umukoro, 2014). Before the British invasion, there were political institutions that have the inkling of a democratic constitution. These were called 'gerontocracy' in which elders of the community were instruments for the maintenance of law and order in their societies (Adegbindin, 2011; Whyte et al., 2008). It was, however, a representative system as these elders were the guardians and trustees of the communities' heritage (Ake, 1991; Azikiwe, 1964). The political institutions were in the form of politically autonomous societies—chiefdoms, kingdoms, feudal aristocracies, and acephalous states (Alapiki, 2005). The colonial government was at first on a regional basis with the gradual overthrow of the existing local and traditional authorities culminating in the conquest of the Northern region in 1903.

Before the amalgamation of all the protectorates, Lagos<sup>7</sup> was annexed to the colony by the British government in 1861 with the use of 'gun-boat diplomacy' (Momah, 2013). There were three significant reasons for the absolute domination of Nigeria. The missionaries with the Christian religion saw a dark country ripe for evangelisation. Competing scramble for the Niger region by other European interests like the German and the French also motivated British rule.

There has been a well-known Berlin conference in which the various European countries shared Africa. British traders had a great interest in Nigeria's enormous mineral and food crop resources (Falola, 1999, 2009; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Mann, 2007; Momah, 2013).

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<sup>7</sup> a city in south-west Nigeria being a coastal area

The colonisation of the other parts of Nigeria like the Northern Protectorate and the Eastern Protectorate and the islands like Ijebu which were formerly resistant was fully achieved by 1903. By then, all significant parts of the country had signed a political agreement with the British government (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Western type of democracy or one attained through election came for Nigeria with the first federal election in 1959. The election preceded or ushered in Nigerian independence in 1960, leading to it becoming a republic in 1963 (Falola & Genova, 2009). Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the first elected Prime Minister, and Nnamdi Azikiwe became the first President from the coalition of two political parties, the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) and Northern People Congress (NPC) (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Nigeria technically broke the tie with the British by adopting the American federal constitutional system instead of the parliamentary system (Chazan, 1989). The second election was in 1964 which reflected divisions and conflicts along regional boundaries. Political parties and politicians and public office holders employed gangsters, for rioting and killing during elections, with no concerns for the welfare of the citizens and Nigeria as a nation (Dike, 2015).

The unpleasant political atmosphere in Nigeria, created by the elected politicians and political parties in power, precipitated the first military coup in January 1966 and, thus the collapse of the first republic (Dare, 1989; Diamond, 1988). According to Siollun, Nigerians welcomed this military intervention (Siollun, 2009). Democracy was, therefore, set aside during the period of military rule from 1966-1975 (Joseph, 2014). Prominent politicians killed, included the Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, the northern region governor, and other senior ranked military officers who were also from the northern part of the country. A second, counter-coup occurred in July 1966 which was mobilised by the northern faction of the military who were aggrieved at the outcome of the January coup. This second coup otherwise referred to as a mutiny by some scholars ushered in Colonel Yakubu Gowon as the President and commander in chief of the armed forces (Siollun, 2009).

For the next 13 years, (1966-1979), different incidences affected the political terrain of Nigeria. Within that period, Nigeria witnessed a civil war for three years (1967-1970) (Stremlau, 2015). At the same time revenue flooded in from the explosion of the oil industry, which served as a massive boost to the Nigerian economy, making it one of the



world's largest oil producers (Odularu, 2008). A third military coup took place on July 29th, 1975, on the ninth anniversary of the second. The coup brought in General Murtala Mohammed, who was assassinated in the fourth coup on 13<sup>th</sup> February 1976. General Olusegun Obasanjo was appointed to replace General Murtala, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1979, he handed over the government back to a democratically elected President Shehu Shagari.

There is a repetitive trend in Nigeria's politics both during a democratic rule and military rule of misrule by the government. One primary sustenance of democracy is the rule of law. By military incursion into Government, this becomes suspended (Weingast, 1997). It replaces the rule of law and uses decrees promulgated in contravention of some aspects of the constitution (Ogundiya, 2010).

Although the Nigerian constitution is not immediately abolished, it becomes passive and subjected to the whims and caprices of the dictates of the incumbent military leaders (Ogowewo, 2000,2005). Corruption among government officials and public servants, both during the civilian rule of 1960-1966 and the military rule of 1966-1979, was quite rampant and grandiose. The act deepened because of lack of skill to manage the booming economy due to oil revenue largess. There was, therefore, a considerable gap divide between the rulers who had enriched themselves and the citizens who were daily being further impoverished (Dike, 2005; Osoba, 1996; Rigobon & Rodrik, 2005; Salisu, 2000).

The principle of separation of power and representation is also another democratic stronghold tampered with during the various incursions of the military regimes. There was no clear-cut distinction between the three tiers of government. Nigeria practices the federal system of government which have three levels of government, the federal or central government headed by the president. The elected governors head the state governments while the local chairmen led the local government councils. Each tier of government is autonomous with its own sets of laws and unique means of governance. But, the military regimes functions primarily with one central unit headed by the Commander in chief. He appoints some representatives in each state who nonetheless are not autonomous (Diamond, 1987; Horowitz, 1990; Sklar, 1987).

### **3. 4.1 NIGERIA'S SECOND REPUBLIC (1979-1983)**

The governing features of the second republic hinge on the adoption of a constitution modelled after the American federal system. There was a rule of two terms of four years for anyone to rule. There is the formation of political parties which encourages partisan politics. Winning a majority of one quarter among two- third of the population's vote was enough to ensure ascension to both the president and the vice presidents. The principles of separation of power necessitate the establishment of a bicameral legislature with elected members. They serve for four years renewable after an election.

There was also an independent judiciary tasked to oversee the activities of the executive and the legislature through the role of interpretation of the law (Nwabueze, 1992). Three tiers of government which are the federal, state, and local were also structured to reflect their principles of separation of power (Falola, 1999; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Despite these various constitutional reforms by the military before the transfer of power to democratic governance, the second republic also failed, and a full-fledged democracy was still elusive. Specific factors were responsible for this. These were the preponderance of ethnic-based and regional politics which continued even after the independence. The facts that Nigeria now had 19 states did not diffuse the practice of regional politics which was a threat to nationalism, federalism, and true liberal democracy (Amoretti & Bermeo, 2004; Diamond, 1988). Second, there was an intense political competition to control state and economic power. Due to an increase in government revenue from the oil boom, it created an economic class divide between the rulers and the ruled. It also led to electoral fraud, corruption, intolerance, inability to compromise and reach a consensus (Dike, 2005, 2015; Edame & Efeiom, 2013). The third reason was an unstable civil society with limited power and knowledge to challenge the government. These all served to destabilise and erode the legitimacy of the ruling government and brought about another military intervention (Alapiki, 2005; Dejene, 1988; Dike, 2015; Lewis, 1994; Osoba, 1996).

### **3.4.2 THE RETURN OF THE GENERALS 1983-1999 AND RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC RULE.**

Another wave of military dictatorship took over the country through a successful fifth coup d'état which brought in General Muhammadu Buhari on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1984 till 1985 (Balogun, 1983; Othman, 1984). The sixth coup ushered in General Ibrahim Babangida in 1985 who instituted a program of transition back to a democratically elected government

in 1993. The election has been adjudged the freest and fairest of all in the democratic history of Nigeria by some scholars (Amadife, 1999; Campbell, 1994). But a personal vendetta between General Babangida, and the winner of the election, Chief Moshood Abiola did not allow him to be sworn in (Campbell, 1994; Diamond et al., 1997; Lewis, 1994; Nwokedi, 1994).

Subsequently, General Abacha led a coup and remained head of government between 1993 and 1999. His reign was of terror and Nigerians were only freed with his sudden death. His regime displayed non-tolerance for the oppositions, large-scale corruption and mismanagement of public funds, failure to initiate a program of transition to civil rule, proscription of media houses, among other ills (Ihonvbere, 1996; Kraxberger, 2004; Ogbondah, 2000).

General Abdulsalam Abubakar was appointed as the Head of the Nigerian government after the sudden demise of General Abacha. It was finally this administration that organised an election within eleven months, which swore in a democratically elected president (Dagne, 2005; Momoh & Thovoethin, 2001; Sesay & Ukeje, 1999). Interestingly, the elected president was a former military General, Olusegun Obasanjo, now in the civilian garb and operating within the rule of law. He represents the return of democracy to Nigeria as there have been four recent elections in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015, the last of which is the focus of the thesis (Lewis, 2003; Lewis & Kew, 2015).

As shown above, of the one hundred and four years of Nigeria's existence from 1914 till 2018, the British colonial authorities ruled for forty-six years, the military-ruled for twenty-nine years. The democratic rule has been for another twenty-nine years counting the ongoing 8<sup>th</sup> republic, which was ushered in through a general election on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 2015, and the focus of the thesis. The summation above further justifies the reference to Nigeria, as an emerging democracy, especially when compared with New Zealand, which has experienced an uninterrupted democracy for the past 165 years. The extent of the influence of the type of democracy on Nigerian and New Zealand newspapers is the focus of the thesis. The next theme examines the structure of New Zealand democratic governance.

### **3.5 THE HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.**

New Zealand politics is a "multicultural society with a democratically elected government and an economy based on exports of dairy products, meat, and wool, wood, seafood and

horticulture" (Jessup, 2011). It is also a Nation- state with the distinctive and elected government and authority recognised as legally binding within its territory (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004).

New Zealand otherwise referred to as 'Aotearoa'<sup>8</sup> was discovered by the 'Maori'<sup>9</sup> people who are of Polynesian descent. Before their arrival, New Zealand was a land inhabited only by birds between 1250- 1300. The point of attraction was the fact that there was no known human habitation in it. Despite this lack of human presence, it holds the possession of attractive marine appeals, sea resources and land mass suitable for agriculture which was all in the areas of interests of the Maoris (Jessup, 2011; Mein Smith, 2011).

Next, to arrive 500 years later were the Europeans, referred to as the 'Pakeha'<sup>10</sup>. Before the mass arrival, the land was first discovered by Abel Tasman in 1642 who received a hostile reception from the Maori. The discovery venture was repeated and successful by Captain James Cook in 1769, a great navigator, explorer, and leader. Thus, New Zealand caught the world's attention and the attraction by Britain for colonisation (Darkin, 2007; Hanly & Lemon, 2015; Pocock, 2005; Salmond, 1991,1993; Wilson, 2005).

Although the date of cession of New Zealand sovereignty was 1839, the recognised document called the Treaty of Waitangi formalised the process on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1840 (Heritage, 2017; Orange, 2012; Watters, 2017). The era of systematic colonisation and assimilation, settler capitalism based on the easy acquisition of land under the theory of 'use it or lose it' was enforced. The policy, on the one hand, benefited the Pakeha settlers but was a loss to the Maori who initially controlled the land (Cooper, 2008; Lloyd, 2013; Phillips & Hearn, 2013; Weaver, 2011).

New Zealand started operating the representative system of Government in January 1853 by adopting the Westminster model when it instituted a legislative council and an elected house of representative (Boston & Nethercote, 2012; Jackson, 1993). The election was followed by establishing six provincial governors in Auckland, Wellington, Taranaki, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago (Brett, 2016; Wood et al., 2008). The first election in New Zealand held in 1853 selected the electorates through male property ownership

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<sup>8</sup> a land of the long white cloud

<sup>9</sup> ordinary

<sup>10</sup> Person of European descent

(Atkinson, 2003; Martin, 2005; McRobie, 2001). The system disenfranchised the majority of Maori at this time due to their method of communal ownership of land (Atkinson, 2015).

The franchise was adjusted to accommodate all male Maoris in 1867. An extension into what is referred to as manhood suffrage started in 1879, because of the gold rush in which many male migrants arrived in New Zealand. The extension did not exclude Maori males (Atkinson, 2003; Atkinson, 2015; Martin, 2005; McRobie, 2001). The female franchise was adopted in 1893, making New Zealand, the first country in the world to allow this form of democracy.

Bell (1997) argued that New Zealand's economy was historically based on the Arcadian philosophy of settler capitalism, in which a quiet, simple rural and pastoral existence is encouraged. This philosophy also affected the social and political lifestyle of the country. New Zealand became a dominion in 1907, but its Pakeha public still expressed itself as part of Britain a result of the practice of colonial nationalism. At this time, the constitutional takeovers of land depleted Maori population because it caused a fall in the standard of living and extreme poverty, high rate of child mortality and the war resulting in migration from their traditional settings to the urban centres (King, 2003).

Over the years, New Zealand has made for itself a name as an established democracy. Among the factors that initiated such appellation is the fact that, firstly, there has never been a break off in the democratic and political structure of the country. Secondly, New Zealand in 1986 became a free-standing constitutional monarchy and improved on the legislative structure of Government by adopting the Mixed Member proportional (MMP) system in 1993 for its unicameral legislature (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004).

New Zealand operates a robust social policy on workers' welfare, aged care, and low infant and maternal mortality relative to elsewhere in the world. This welfare practice enables it to instigate a sense of nationalism and patriotism in the citizens during the liberal-democratic process. There has also been a resurgence of the adoption of the basic tenets of the Treaty of Waitangi, which had earlier marginalised Maori minority group. Several cases through courts set up for such purpose returned favourable verdicts. There is also a resurgence of Maori culture, arts, and language with its official status conferment. The re-enactment gives room to still greater plurality in her form of representative democracy (Sibley et al., 2011).

Among other developed democracies like Great Britain, Australia, and the United States of America, New Zealand competes favourably. It has achieved such feat through adopting significant political and economic policies like nuclear-free and refusing the visit of the potentially nuclear-armed USS Buchannan. It has established a high ranking in the league of nations. It is also a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). It also signed a free trade policy with other countries aside from the UK. This relationship had affected the trends of citizenship from initially European descent people, to even the Asian countries, who are now the dominant trading partners (Mein Smith, 2011).

New Zealand has also faced a national tragedy like the 2010 September 7.1 magnitude earthquake and the 2011 February 6.3 magnitude earthquake with a record loss of nearly 200 lives and 10,000 homes destroyed. Notwithstanding, it has been able to engineer a massive rebuild and create a welfare scheme for those affected to bounce back (King et al., 2014).

With a three-year term for elections since 1890, on September 20th, 2014, New Zealanders elected their 38th Prime minister for his third term which made him the leader of the 51<sup>st</sup> government. The 20th September 2014 election is the focus of the thesis.

### **3.6 SYNOPSIS OF THE ELECTION IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA**

New Zealand electorates voted on September 20th, 2014 for the 51st parliament which resulted in the swearing in of 121 members of parliament (Rutherford 2014). The country operates a unicameral parliamentary representative democracy and practices the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system. The voting system in which the party with the majority of party votes and elected members from the electorates into parliament usually appoints the Prime Minister. Each voter is entitled to two votes, one for the party and the second for the local electorates' members of parliament (Shugart, & Wattenberg 2001).

The general election takes place in New Zealand every three years. The total number of the enrolled voters were 3,140,417, of which 2,410,857 representing 76.77% voted in the election. Two voting systems in use are 1) the advanced voting and overseas which is designed to enable the elderly or people with disability to vote before the election date; and 2) the general ballot for every other eligible voter on the day of the election (Electoral

Commission 2018). There were 71 electorates approved for election across with the South Island claiming 16, North Island 48 and Maori 7 divisions each.

The media depicted various landmark events that were predicted to have an impact on the election results. Among these was the 2011 Christchurch earthquake which resulted in the realignment of some electorates within that region (Giovinazzi et al., 2012; Wong 2013). There was also the release of a book titled *Dirty Politics* by investigative journalist Nicky Hager. The book detailed some leaked emails that revealed that staff members of the former Prime Minister John Key intruded into the database of the Labour Party, the main opposition party (Lees-Marshment et al. 2015; Kenix 2015). The Internet Mana Party also staged a meeting releasing information on New Zealand's involvement in the 'five eyes' state intelligence network and surveillance of its citizens. There was also focus on some ministerial scandals in which the Minister for Justice resigned before the election (Boyd & Bahador, 2015)

The New Zealand Electoral Commission closely monitors campaign spending with an approved budget that must be strictly adhered to by each political party. The 20<sup>th</sup> of June which was part of the duration (publications sample is from the 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014- 31<sup>st</sup> December 2014) for the thesis was within the regulated election advertising period (Electoral Commission 2015). The analysis section of the thesis reflects the extent of these issues in the coverage of the election.

Nineteen political parties featured on the day of the election, seven of the parties won seats in the parliaments. National, a right-of-centre party, led by John Key, was the incumbent party in government and was also re-elected with 47.04 % of the party votes, securing 60 seats in the parliament. They formed the 51<sup>st</sup> government with the United Future party, the ACT party, and the Maori party. Meanwhile, the leading opposition was the Labour party led by David Cunliffe, which had a 25.13 % total. The Green party and New Zealand First party also joined the opposition. There were no significant post-election crises as the electoral commission announced the results on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 2014 (Electoral Commission 2014). Although, David Cunliffe stepped down and Andrew Little was elected as the new leader of the Labour party and Leader of opposition in parliament (Edwards, 2016).

As earlier enumerated, Nigeria began the re-democratisation process of electing the key political office-holders such as the presidents, state governors, senators, members of the

federal House of Representatives and other positions with an election in 1999. The thesis, however, focuses only on the Presidential election, also referred to as the general election. The 1999 edition, held on 27<sup>th</sup> of February, ushered in the fourth republic headed by President Olusegun Obasanjo (Enemu, 1999). The election was followed by another in April 2003 as Nigeria operates a 4 year term, to usher in the fifth republic, the sixth in 2007, the seventh in 2011 and the eighth republic in March 28<sup>th</sup> election 2015 which is the focus of the thesis (Aiyede 2007; Bamgbose & Humanities 2012; Lewis 2003) .

Nigeria's electoral system is based on election by a simple majority. Voters who participate in the election must be 18 years and above to be eligible and were required to register and obtain a permanent voters' card. The electoral commission known as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), set up in 1998 to oversee all Nigerian elections, and issue the voters' cards. A total of 68,833,476 voters had registered and needed the voters' card to vote (Jega 2014, Nwafo 2015). There were complaints around the poor circulation of the voters' cards which necessitated the postponement of the election from the initially slated 14<sup>th</sup> of February to the 28<sup>th</sup> of March (Omotola & Nyuykonge 2015). The threats of the Boko Haram insurgency were also another reason for the postponement (more explanation is given in chapter seven of the thesis).

Although fourteen presidential candidates contested the election, there were two main contenders (INEC 2015). The first was the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan who was formerly the Vice President from the 2007 election but was sworn in as the president in 2010 after the death of President Umaru Yaradua from a terminal illness (Nwoli 2007; Omotola 2011). President Goodluck Jonathan had however contested in 2011 and won (Lewis 2011). The 2015 election was to be his second full term in office if re-elected. The second major contender for the 2015 election was a formerly displaced military ruler, General Mohammed Buhari. Buhari had led a military coup and attained power in December 1983, but he was deposed by a counter-coup in 1985 after two years in office (Ogbeidi, 2012). The desire to govern Nigeria with his steadfast belief in halting corruption led him to make the 2015 Presidential elections, the fourth time he was contesting. The 2015 election was, therefore, a political battle between Mohammed Buhari, a Muslim with the Northern and Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian with Southern Nigerian strongholds respectively (Adibe, 2015).



Some of the dominant campaign issues were the Boko Haram insurgency, corruption, petroleum, power scarcity, and unemployment (Edame & Efeiom, 2013; Patience, 2016; Osumah, 2016; Oyewole, 2015; Schoemaker, 2015).

Nonetheless, the March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015 presidential election defied all known expectations from other presidential elections which were usually characterised by low quality of democracy, often engulfed with a sense of 'a do or die affair', rigging, corruption and even some post-election violent demonstrations. Some commentators argued that Nigeria was through the credible and transparent conduct of the election, now set on the path of becoming a stable and mature democracy (Owen & Usman 2015).

The election also witnessed a transition of power from the dominant party since 1999, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the Alliance for Progressive Congress (APC) signalling a radical deviation from the established pattern (Awopeju, Adelusi & Oluwashakin, 2012; Aniche, 2015). President Buhari won with 14,951,368 votes which represent 53.96% while Jonathan had 12,827,423 which was 44.96% after the announcement of the results of 35 of Nigeria's 36 states' and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). There was no post-election crisis as the media reported that Goodluck Jonathan telephoned to congratulate President Muhammadu Buhari within days of the result announcement (Schneider 2015).

### **3.7. NORMATIVE THEORY**

Finally, the political journalists and editors are the primary producers of the contents of the newspapers. There are established expectations about their performance in a democracy. It is therefore desirable to examine how their role actualises under the normative theory of media roles in a democracy.

Different accounts show the functions of the media in a democracy. The foundations of most of these postulations hinge on the concept of the normative theory of the press (Curran et al., 2009; Graber, 2003; Habermas, 2006). There are multiple normative accounts, but some categorised in Christians' account of four media roles under democracy are monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical (Christians et al., 2009). As shown in chapter 2 of the thesis, the era of the popular press was because of the commercialisation of the newspapers. The owners' primary goal of making the profit complement similar aspirations of exerting political influence. The tasks of the media were therefore summarised into three by Christians et al. (2009,p.116).

- (a) The media observe and inform primarily as a service to the public.
- (b) The media participate in public life as an independent actor through a critical comment, advice, advocacy, and expression of opinion.
- (c) The media provide a channel, forum or platform for other media voices or sources to reach a self-chosen public.

These tasks divide into the four media roles under democracy which are the monitorial, facilitative, the collaborative and the radical.

### **3.7.1 THE MONITORIAL ROLE**

The monitorial role is referred to also as the surveillance role and hinged on the work of Harold Lasswell (Lasswell, 1948). It involves the process of observing an extended environment for relevant information about events, conditions, trends and threats, the collection of information contents itself. The criteria of relevance and reliability guide the observation in a planned and systematic way. The term monitorial emphasises the open character of the activity and its intention to benefit the receiver of information rather than the agent of information or control. It fits the model of mediation in which the news media intervene between events and sources on the one hand and individual members of the public on the other. The anticipated needs of the audience determine news.

This role further supports the democratic political theory (Dryzek, 2004; Pennock, 2015; Przeworski et al., 1999) and the social responsibility theory (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Siebert et al., 1956). The former emphasises the press's role of reporting on proceedings in parliaments and similar assemblies without which their democratic credentials reduce, the act results in the notion of the press as the fourth estate. The latter, however, calls on the media to "provides a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives meaning" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). It is used to separate fact from comments and present both sides of disputed issues.

The monitorial role is appropriate to the liberal and individualistic democracy particularly to deliberative or participative forms. It also enables the citizens as voters to know enough, make informed and rational decisions especially at periodic elections.

### **3.7.2 THE FACILITATIVE ROLE**

The facilitative role of the media supports three other theories which are deliberation, development communication and civic or community journalism where the media reflects the political order they operate within. Public opinion results from, and it is a

follow up to deliberation. In the facilitative role, the media promote dialogue among their readers and viewers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate (Christians et al., 2009).

The benefit of such to democracy is that it strengthens and support participation in civil society outside the state and the market. The media does not only report the civil society's association and activities but seek to enrich and improve them. Citizens are taken seriously in clarifying and resolving public problems. The aim of the interactive mode is democratic pluralism in which the media promotes a range of diverse cultures and worldviews. Deliberation enables the media to facilitate the process of negotiation over the social-political and cultural agenda. It is open to a "wide range of evidence, respectful of different views, rational in weighing available data and willing to consider alternative possibilities" (Macedo, 1999,p.58).

Furthermore,

"the press frames the democratic process in normative terms as interactive dialogue in which citizens engage one another on both practical matters and social vision, norms and institutions are open to challenge, and debate derives their legitimacy from the actual agreement of citizens" (Deveaux 2000,p.141).

It enables citizens to enhance democracy by criticising institutions that do not live up to its normative expectations (Chambers, 2003).

To also tie in the Habermas theory of the public sphere, the discussion is made possible among free and equal citizens who are also called discursive democracy (Elster, 1998). The need for the facilitative role of the media in a democracy further strengthens the fact that the power structure in society requires a balance. The facilitative role supports the critical political economy (CPE) theory. Also, the adoption of democracy makes the balance of power possible and facilitates the participation and representation of varying views.

Development communication relating to the facilitative role entails the creation of opportunities for citizens to develop themselves and their communities through voluntary communication-based actions (Servaes, 2008). It also has a participatory tone and ensures grassroot commitment from all spheres of society. More so, "ideas and plans are not imposed by outside experts, but communities build up their knowledge and learning through interactive learning" (Christians et al., 2009,p.161). The developing world favours this brand of communication as it promotes the use of such communication means as interpersonal, folk, traditional, group, organisational, and mass media in the

development process of agriculture, nutrition, and information (Hornik, 1993; Moemeka, 2000).

In the same vein, public, civic or community journalism has improved the facilitative role of journalism as it promotes the normative tradition of the social responsibility theory. The facilitative role 'stimulate[s] citizen deliberation and build[s] public understanding of issues, and . . . Report [s] on dominant public problems in a way that advances public knowledge of possible solutions and the values served by alternative courses of action' (Lambeth, 1998,p.17).

### **3.7.3 THE COLLABORATIVE ROLE**

Collaboration depicts any relationships in which the media voluntarily or enthusiastically participate. This role distinguishes itself from the contact with the centre of power like the state, advertisers, who subsidise the media and community activists in their bid to access the public. These group therefore regularly appeal to the media for cooperation and sympathy (Christians et al., 2009). There is also an essential normative dimension to the collaborative role of the press which implies a mutual trust and a shared commitment to mutually agreeable means and ends. The partnership is the important baseline for collaboration which means that both parties involved achieving 'collaborative advantage ... work across organisational boundaries towards some positive end' (Huxham & Vangen, 2004,p.4). In this case, the newspapers and any other stakeholders benefit from the usage is measured about its effects on the sustainability or effectiveness of democracy. Some of the factors responsible for establishing a collaborative role are the need for: Access to the resource, shared risks, efficiency, consolidation, learning, innovation, and the moral imperatives (Child et al., 2005; Nooteboom, 2004; Todeva & Knoke, 2005). All these factors can be used to evaluate the collaborative intention of journalists' role in covering a democracy.

### **3.7.4 THE RADICAL ROLE**

The radical role is based on a critical and advocating position of absolute equality and freedom for all members of a democratic society in an utterly uncompromising way. Journalism in the radical role uses every opportunity to ascertain that no injustice is ever permitted (Christians et al., 2009). It should be noted that,

... In societies based on the competitive market principle, great imbalances of wealth, education, and access to information and communication are accepted as simply the rewards of personal initiative. The radical democratic commitment

works for the continual elimination of concentrations of social power to enable every person to participate equally in all societal decisions. Professionally, journalists are called on to encourage not just superficial changes, such as voting procedures, but changes in the core of the existing social institutions. There may be a focus on particular forms of discrimination and defence of particular groups of the voiceless and disenfranchised, but the long-range goal is a society of universal recognition of human rights for all (Christians et al., 2009,p.179).

As earlier established in chapter 2 of the thesis, the historical development of the media was also along the radical press agitations. Other concepts as the civil society, postmodern political society, and emergent publics further support the radical role of the press (Arato & Cohen, 1988; Cohen & Arato, 1992). Journalists practising the radical roles often have to use the alternative media (Atton, 2008; Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010), and community media (Deuze, 2006a; Howley, 2005) which attempts to enable a greater sharing of power among interested stakeholders in the democracy. The radical role can also be said to embrace the critical and cultural theories (Fuchs, 2010; Griffin, 2006; Horkheimer, 1982; Kellner, 2011; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002).

These four media roles, the monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical are aligned with historical facts of New Zealand and Nigeria newspaper and democracy. They are then used to evaluate the levels of the portrayal of the framing of political news and justify the reasons for such representations. In the same vein, levels of the depiction of government political activities and representative democracy are measured to reflect their framing in the newspapers selected.

### **3.8 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Sanderson (2011) states that one of the principal instruments in society for monitoring democracy or even any system of government is the mass media. More so, in democratic governance that is expected to be representative and pluralistic, the media has been seen to take centre stage. Curran (2002b), likewise, describes how the emergence of the mass circulation newspaper gave a voice to ordinary citizens as opposed to the political elites thus creating a more open society.

The role of the media in the last decade has become relevant in politics generally but even more in the practice of democracy. Democracy as a system of government is practised in its various forms by over 95% of the countries of the world (Golder, 2005). The importance of the media to New Zealand was attested to by David Lange, former Prime Minister of New Zealand (cited in (McMillan, 2013:1) who states that “the news media is

central to New Zealand's democracy". Through the media, the traditional forms of political communication and the traditional sources of political power are being reconstituted and reshaped (Street, 2011).

The roles of the media have two dimensions; one is the power of the media which determines what gets reported and the second form is the power of the media to influence or change. The power of the media is not only weighed by controlling the citizens, but such power can be used to unseat the powerful. Many renowned politicians have been humbled such as "US presidents, Richard Nixon, Bill Clinton, the Italian Prime minister Silvio Berlusconi or even British Ministers David Blunkett, Peter Mandelson, David Mellor, John Prescott, and Jacqui Smith" (Street 2011,p.12). These politicians were dependent on the media, which is responsible for image propagation or none since an image is an essential feature in their career. The dependence of the politicians shows the media invariably have some form of power over them (Charles, 2013).

The media are more effective at ensuring democratic accountability than the various organs of government which were delegated to do so (Kemp, 2013). The current model of democracy is the monitorial democracy, in which the media provide ubiquitous scrutiny of both the public and private realms (Street, 2011). Especially in the western liberal democracies, where the mass media is claimed to have the right to represent the people and to uphold democracy, the citizens who are consumers of the media have come to treat these media sources as the basis on which to think and act in the world (Street, 2011).

Kemp (2013,p.3) further describes how important the media is to democracy:

...the connection between media and politics is crucially important because of the media influences election outcomes and government actions by informing the public, fostering debate, and conveying public attitudes to political leaders.

The news media constitutes what he refers to as a virtual public gathering since it often serves to bring together people from different socio-political backgrounds and different demographics. The media according to him performs a constitutive role in the existence of a national political community as well as critical functions in the operations of this political forum. Kemp, however, points out the fact that the media itself does not make a political community but merely contributes to the process (Kemp, 2013).

The media operates at multiple levels which are both at the global and the local levels. There is a continual challenge facing the balancing of this role between the increasingly globalised media and traditional nationalised media. Politics, therefore, is constituted by communication and deliberation, making the relationship between politics, in this regard's democracy and the media central (Kemp, 2013).

The modern-day democracy, described as a mediated democracy, distinguishes from the one practised during the era of Aristotle, which was face-to-face. The explanation has two implications. Firstly, the media plays a role in a mediated democracy and then serves as a form of representation between the elected and the voters. The discussion above shows that there is a connection between the media and democracy. Each has a beneficial and symbiotic relationship or role to play with each other. The press that is the newspapers foster democracy through effective communication, promotes collective unity, helps in the conduct of a free and fair election by providing information before, during and after (Kymlicka, 2001; Sanderson, 2011; Shorten, 2008). Democracy improves and provides an egalitarian setting among citizens in which everyone has an equal right to own their opinion (Thomas, 2008).

For example, newspapers provide different types of articles that are focused on reflecting on how government policies affect citizens. Secondly, it gives the opportunity for the citizens to engage the government in their areas of concerns such as housing, welfare and employment, transportation, education, childcare. During elections, the newspapers sensitise the electorates about their candidates, the policies, the date of the election and all required procedure needed to vote appropriately. The newspapers are not silent even after election results were published and candidates' reactions were portrayed. The politicians, political parties and government also reach out to the electorates through the newspaper and other media platforms. The newspapers benefits are in the way of patronage from subscription fees, website traffic, political advertisement, and advertorial revenues. How all the roles of the commercialised newspapers under emerging and established democracy come about and influence each other is the concern of the thesis. More so, the content analysis of the selected newspaper will examine these variants.

## **CHAPTER 4: CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY THEORY (CPE), MEDIA COMMERCIALISATION, POLITICAL ADVERTISING AND CHALLENGES OF ELECTION COVERAGE**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The examination of media commercialisation in emerging and established democracies, reveal some critical elements, each of which hinges on a theory. The historical purview in chapter two examines the configuration of the newspapers from the cultural, societal, and political roles. The need for practical significance of the central issues in this academic purview and for relatedness of the concepts discussed necessitates the adoption of some theories particularly, from communication studies. The previous chapter examined the public sphere theory and how it shapes understanding of democratic practices in New Zealand and Nigeria. The previous chapter also discussed the normative approach, using it to explain the role of media practitioners in a democracy. This chapter will focus on the critical political economy theory, which is pivotal for the study of commercialised newspapers. The CPE theory discusses media commercialisation, political advertising, newspaper ownership and challenges of election coverage in New Zealand and Nigeria.

### **4.2. CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY THEORY**

Critical political economy theory (CPE) is one of the elements of critical media studies concerned with the tradition of analysis of communication arrangements and how they relate to goals of social justice and emancipation. It also refers to the way power relations are sustained and challenged (Hardy, 2014a; Meehan & Wasko, 2013; Mosco, 2009). CPE rests on a central claim that the ways of financing communication have implications for the nature and variety of media content and the way it is consumed and used (McAllister, 2015).

Mosco (2009, p.128) describes the critical political economist as "one who sees knowledge as the product of comparisons with other bodies of knowledge and with social values". This theory also entails a "critical realist approach that investigates problems connected with the political and economic organisation of communication resources" (Hardy, 2014b p.190).

The Marxian school influence on the critical tradition views the media as a culture industry (Horkheimer, 1982). It provides a historical analysis of capitalism which includes the forces and relation of production, the production of surplus value,



commodification, social class divisions and struggles (Cunningham et al., 2015; Hardy, 2014b). The emergence of the critical school trace back to the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in 1923. The school investigated culture in ways that revised and revived the Marxist theory, thereby integrating 'Western Marxism' with other social theories and Freudian psychoanalysis. This theory can also be interpreted as how the different ways of organising the media together with its relationship to democracy and commercialisation (McChesney, 2000a; Murdock, 1992; Wasko et al., 2011).

The simple codification for this theory is power, media, and profit. The Marxist interpretation also states that the media are instruments of control by and for the ruling class. The media is influenced by those who possess the economic power in society referred to as concentration of ownership by capitalist entrepreneurs. In recent times, however, the Marxism paradigm has since shifted from just the question of monetary control to ideological control of the media, which gives the media the name 'an ideological state apparatus' (McQuail 2010).

The political economy theory is a socially critical approach that focuses primarily on the relation between the economic structure and dynamics of media industries and the ideological content of media. The media system is, as a result of this, considered as part of the economic system, with close links to the political system (McQuail 2010, p. 96).

Aside from the fact that the content of the media is a commodity, another school of thought of political economy advocates that the audience is also a primary product (Napoli 2001). The need for the consideration of the political economy of the media cannot be greater than ever, because of the growth of media concentration worldwide and more concentration in fewer hands. There is also a worldwide global information economy which gives rise to the convergence between telecommunication and broadcasting (Melody 1990; Herman 1997). Another apparent impact is the decline in public sector control of the mass media and an increase in processes such as deregulation, privatisation, and liberalisation (McQuail & Siune, 1998; Van Cuilenburg, & McQuail, 2003). The effect of these processes are said to include a rise in information inequality which gives rise to the use of expressions such as digital divide translating to inequality in access and differences in potential use (Norris 2001; Van Dijk & Hacker 2003).

Pertinent questions that are the concerns of studies under CPE are: whose voices and concerns are heard? How are people and ideas represented in media discourse? What are the factors that affects its occurrence? What is the quality of information, ideas, and imagery available through the media and to whom is it available? How is power in communication-related to the realisation of democracy?

These questions enable a critical examination of the theme in the thesis, media commercialisation in established and emerging democracies which falls within the confines of CPE. This study considers the relationship between the media to wider forces and processes in society. This evaluation focuses on media commercialisation, advertising finance majorly, the support mechanism, how the policies and actions of media organisations, governments, and other organisations influence and affect journalists' behaviour and content. Moreover, CPE allows this research to understand the effect of the unequal distribution of power in New Zealand and Nigeria and how this affects their democratic cultures.

#### **4.3 MEDIA / NEWSPAPER COMMERCIALISATION.**

Media commercialisation supports the rearrangements of media structures, characters, and contents because of the profit-seeking goals of media industries. It is on the basis that economic/market considerations govern media products. Thus, for any media organisation to remain afloat, it must generate enough revenue to cover the cost (Hardy, 2014b; Odunlami et al., 2015). As a critical term, it is used to explore how far these considerations are dominant in shaping media practices and content (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Ott & Mack, 2010).

Media commercialisation in this research work is the ongoing trend, the media subjugates for purely commercial consideration through market forces, the idea of public service that could promote the stability and development of democracy. In Nnorom's words, cited by (Ekwo, 1996,p.63), (although this is only one aspect of the commodification of news), media commercialisation is:

A phenomenon whereby the media reports as news or news analysis a commercial message by an identified or unidentifiable sponsor, giving the audience the impression that news is fair, objective and socially responsible.

Media commercialisation 'is the natural precursor of the commodification of news, information and other sundry products through the policy and the principle of 'cash and

carries' or referred in media parlance as let them pay (LTP)' (Odunlami & Adaja 2015 p.70). This type of news process is what Habermas (2006) refers to as news by barter.

Commercialisation is a concept which gained importance in the eighties. The popularity was because of the neoliberal ideology spearheaded by the Carter administration but continued by the Reagan administration in the United States which portrayed the free market as the most effective mechanism to produce goods and services (Giroux & Giroux, 2006; Navarro, 2007).

Commercialisation is referred to as 'the profit –maximising production and circulation of symbolic content. The concern of this situation is about the

Content diversity arising from corporate behaviour and the core tendency of commercial market systems to favour profitable consumer markets and underserve less profitable consumer markets (Hardy 2014b,p.104).

The focus in the thesis is on a significant form of the print media which is the newspaper. The newspaper is one of the most significant sources of information for people today (Briggs & Burke, 2002a). It is also the oldest form of mass-mediated news (Briggs & Burke, 2002a,2005). But the aspect that is most pertinent to this study is newspaper commercialisation or as termed in the thesis media commercialisation. Newspaper commercialisation emanated from the audacity of businesspeople, and enterprise from the Venetian book industry in Venice. The development is a significant factor, which contributed to the capitalist organisation growth in which a small group of merchants were in control and gave the financial backing, although their economic interest ranged largely more than the book (Briggs & Burke, 2002a). This support can be said to be a form of media commercialisation with regards to financial ownership control. The economic and political position of Venice skilfully exploits what is in today's parlance is conglomeration or concentration (Briggs & Burke, 2002a).

With the emergence of the Reformation, there was a collapse of the Venetian market, but developments shifted to the Dutch Republic (Briggs & Burke, 2005). By the early seventeenth century, the city of Amsterdam now the Netherlands, became the principal centre of newspapers. This situation as expressed was that of a new literary genre which illustrates the commercialisation of information better than any other (Briggs & Burke, 2005).

In the last part of the 20th century, there has been the predominance of media conglomerates, whose dominant feature is sheer commercialism as opposed to a mixture of small-scale capitalist enterprises and public service broadcasters. This has, therefore, prompted a danger to effective democracy and citizens' participation in public affair issues due to the media's dependence on an advertiser's support (Herman & McChesney 1997).

A critical consequence of media or newspaper commercialisation is that news has become a commodity, which can be bought by those who have the money so that their voices can be heard (Papathanassopoulos, 1999, 2001). In the mass media, news has to be paid for by those who want to be heard (Asogwa & Asemah, 2012). Some scholars argue that news has automatically become a commercial product to the detriment of the public interest (Ariely, 2015). The validity of this assertion is examined later in this chapter and with the analysis of data.

The newspaper which is, one of the medias of communication, is used in the thesis to investigate the concept of media commercialisation.

The primary content of newspapers today is commercialised news, designed to appeal to broad audiences, to entertain, to be cost-effective, and sell their attention to advertisers. The result is that stories that may offend are substituted in favour of those more acceptable and entertaining to a large number of readers. Also, the media downplay or ignore stories that are costly to cover or create financial risk. This practice leads to the homogenization of newspaper content, to coverage of safety issues and a diminution of the range of opinions and ideas expressed (Picard 2004, p.61).

The act makes it difficult for those who do not have the financial capability to have access to the media or their views freely portrayed in it, which is also a threat to democracy (Skovsgaard & Arjen, 2013). 'Thus, it is only organisations and individuals that have money to spend that can gain access to the media during news time for a prescribed fee' (Asemah 2011, p.32). Another form of media commercialisation is the situation whereby 'the electronic and print media carry paid news, which does have an identified sponsor but giving the audience – members of the public – the notion that the news is fair, objective and socially responsible' (Asogwa & Asemah, 2012).

With the trends of conglomeration and globalisation, media commercialisation is an unavoidable phenomenon in today's media world (Mjos, 2009). There is an increasing wave of deregulations, liberalisation, and privatisation going on in both developing and

developed nations of the world (Flew, 2012). These have all acted as an impetus to the practice of media commercialisation.

Consequently, in deviance to the principle of social media obligations in the form of the social responsibility and watchdog roles, commercial markets do not often reflect the full range of people's interests, which include non-market values and preferences (Baker, 2002). Moreover, the principle of the commercial market is an insufficient basis for supporting media provision because democratic participation, equality, and universality are often sabotaged (Murdock, 1992). Commercialisation has even taken a higher dimension in the United States where increasing corporate control is associated with a shift to hyper-commercialism (Hardy, 2014b). The term refers to a change whereby the drive to profits is paramount, reshaping the priorities and operations of (media) organisations. Commercialisation 'has undermined the relative autonomy of US journalists, weakening professional standards and eroding the divisions between hard and entertainment news, and between editorial and advertising' (Hardy, 2014b, p.105). Cost-cutting threatens news, editorial quality, and reporting (McChesney 1999; Hardy, 2014b, p.105).

The effects of commercialism or hyper-commercialism show in societies and cultures around the world. In McChesney's words:

The global commercial media system is radical in that it respects no tradition, or custom, on balance, if it stands in the way of profits. But ultimately it is politically conservative because the media giants are significant beneficiaries of the current social structure around the world, and any upheaval in property or social relations- particularly to the extent that it reduces the power of business- is not in their interests (McChesney 2003 in Hardy, 2014b, p.34).

Studies of Newspaper/Media commercialisation are in the broad category of the political economy school of thought. Political economy is a concept that is concerned "with the relationship between structures of control in capitalist societies and the production of wealth needed to reproduce that society" (Mosco, 2009 in Duncan, 2014, p. 25). However, with the media, the political economy shows the inter-relatedness of the production, distribution, and consumption of media, and embeds this in the social context within which the media is produced (Wasko, 2005, in Duncan, 2014 p.44 ). From Murdock and Golding's perspectives, it also helps to unpack the relationship between the political, economic and media power and analyse the impact of the commodification of the media on press regulation (Murdock & Golding, 1989). Its analysis of the dynamics of media

regulation tends to focus on the socially detrimental effects of deregulation of media ownership and growing media concentration, but it is weaker at analysing the inner dynamics of specific regulatory institutions and needs to be complemented by studies of news practice.

According to Duncan (2014,p. 169), the onset of the global recession from 2008 was a significant factor that affected all forms of world economy including the print media industry. The effects are shown through the struggle 'financially with circulation and advertising' income that are continuously declining 'almost across the board'. The recession caused downward pressure on profitability which has, in turn, 'placed pressures on newsrooms to reduce costs, leading to mass retrenchments and the overburdening of remaining staff'.

Harber (2009) states that many sub-editors were retrenched. It has also resulted in 'skill development budgets becoming soft targets for budget cuts. The effect of this is editorial weakening and cutbacks that can impact on journalism standards (Buchanan, 2013). Training, a concept necessary for skills development (will be examined in chapter 10 and 11 of the interviews data) shows a cut back in Nigerian and nonexistence in New Zealand newspapers organisations.

Fray et al. (2008, p. 79 as cited by Duncan, 2014) further authenticate the adverse effects of retrenchment in a report commissioned into the weakening of editorial processes at *The Times*, demonstrating how essential checks and balances had been allowed to slide.

The paper's organisational structure had become top-heavy while being thin about news generation. At times, stories were re-written and 'sexed up' into front page 'splashes', leading to sensationalism and the introduction of inaccuracies. Its approach of failing to attribute sources of information sufficiently led to the publication of incorrect information.

Besides, the decline in the standard of journalism as exacerbated by globalisation and commercialisation of the media,

...has shrunk autonomous spaces for ethical journalism and placed the craft under pressure in the name of the bottom line. In many newsrooms, media owners, managers, and even editors have put journalists under pressure to produce journalism for multiple platforms with fewer resources at their disposal, with negative impacts on the quality of journalism. The situation erodes journalists' status and makes it more challenging to exercise power in many aspects of the media system, including regulation (Duncan, 2014,p.172).

For this study, therefore, to understand the internal working of the concept of media commercialisation, it is essential to examine the relevant or umbrella concept of political economy. Analysis of political economy involves a study of the power relations in the media and how these power relations reproduce and supports the capitalist system (Duncan, 2014).

If there is ever a time to neglect media commercialisation and its impacts on communication products and culture, it is not in our time. There is a visible indication that media industries and practices are being rapidly transformed all over the world (Hardy, 2014b). Scholars ask many questions in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries such as control over the media, the impact of commercialisation, public and private ownership, inequalities, and power relations affecting communications. All these falls under the auspices of the political economy of the media (Hardy, 2014b).

However, the more relevant aspect to the critical political economy of communication which this study falls is media commercialisation. Hardy argues that the followings are the justifications for such inclusion.

Political economy shares many of the democratic aspirations of liberal pluralists' account of media serving the people, but it challenges the ability of corporate-owned media to do so adequately and mounts a critique of the capitalist market relations on which liberalism is contingent. It draws on the classical democratic theory's insistence which relates to an informed, participating citizen, and to assert such political culture generates a more diverse, democratised media system (Hardy, 2014b,p.30).

There is more emphasis on the need to liberalise media markets, through media commercialisation, but not at the detriments of democracy. The next part of this chapter will discuss the implications of media products for the public interest as expressed in the public sphere of any democratic society.

#### **4.4 MEDIA PRODUCTS, PUBLIC INTEREST, PUBLIC SPHERE AND DEMOCRACY**

Chapter three examined the public sphere theory elaborately, focusing on the importance of the media creating an engaging cultural environment. The normative media roles further describe expectations from the media in a democracy. The early part of this chapter also shows the relevance of the critical political economy theory. It creates an awareness about the need for the balance of power between the use of the media as an economic product and for cultural impacts.

Media products such as news stories, features articles, letters to the editors and other editorial contents of the newspapers serve dual roles of cultural and economic products. CPE, therefore, joins these two roles together because it is concerned with power in communication and how it affects the actualisation of democracy (Hardy, 2014b).

The business of the media identifies two perspectives. The first is the market model while the second is the public sphere/ public good model (Croteau & Hoynes 2006; Hamilton 2004). Investors often overlook the media as both a creative and cultural industry whose performance measures must hold the public interest in mind but instead focus on sales, advertising revenue and profits. This slanted focus creates a dilemma when evaluating the role of the media in a democracy (Croteau & Hoynes 2006).

However, viewing the media from the market perspectives has the following advantages: efficiency as a result of the competitive nature induced, responsiveness to consumer needs, since the available demands are the primary motivation for the type of media products portrayed; flexibility as the media can easily adjust to meet changing climes; innovation as media organisations usually thrive to meet up with market trends and technological advancements (Croteau & Hoynes 2006). These advantages accrue to media producers. The market model also affects the media contents itself, transforming the 5w's of who, what, where, when and why into 5 economic w's of who cares about an item of information, what are they willing to pay, where can media outlets or advertisers be found, when is it profitable to provide the information and why is it profitable (Hamilton 2004, p.7)?

While these two levels of advantages from the market model can be argued from the producer perspective, these are less evident from the perspective of public good. The fact remains that the media should elevate the contents' cultural significance above its commercial. The "media are primary information sources and storytellers and have become a crucial democratic site that social theorists refer to as the public sphere" (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.22).

Media are a compelling presence in our lives and a powerful force that shapes our future (Schlesinger, 1990). Although, the media appears to be the creature of the market forces, they should not be left to the whims of these forces alone. "Power over media and their content concentrates in ever fewer hands, not necessarily ruled by wiser heads" (Bogart 1995 p.10).



As noted in the previous chapter, a key term used to describe and evaluate the role of media in society, with particular reference to the debate and other democratic processes function, is the public sphere. The public sphere means all places and forum such as by phone, fax, mail attending school, churches, concerts, theatrical productions and public gatherings, voluntary associations, lectures by listening to, reading and watching the media: where issues of importance to a political community are discussed, debated, and information presented that is essential to public participation in community life (Herman & McChesney 1997). It also indicates spaces that are open, freely available, collectively held rather than individual or personal. Citizens' participation and continuing wide-ranging public discourse are widely considered essential for a healthy democracy (Croteau & Hoynes 2006).

The period of selection in television or radio programs, space presentation for newspapers and magazines, and broadcast timing, can limit public participation in the political processes (Scannell, 1989). Reiterating Habermas' view, the public sphere effectively works for democracy when there is no form of its dependency on the state or society's dominant economic forces (Herman & McChesney 1997). The political structure of a country influences the structure of the public sphere, the media and different forms of representation such as non-profit, non-commercial public service broadcastings, partisan wide-ranging media, which is 'partially or wholly independent of the state and commercial control' (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The commercial form is historically associated with the most democratic political systems, although some scholars disagree with such a claim (Curran et al., 2009; Aalberg & Curran, 2012). For this to be possible, there must be no restriction on the range of political views and resources must not be swayed towards the powerful economic and political actors to the disadvantage of the less powerful segments of society. The quality of the media participation in the political process determines the quality of democracy (Herman & McChesney 1997). For "participatory democracy to function, citizens must learn how to take part and have access to the resources necessary for meaningful participation" (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.23).

There are many threats to the public sphere such as government control and censorship (Price, 1995). These mostly happen in authoritarian regimes and in some parliamentary democracies which use means such as propaganda, bribery, physical threats to life,

government secret service agents, government ownership control through partial funding, and influence from the parties in power (Herman & McChesney 1997; Croteau & Hoynes 2006).

Another major threat involves the global media environment (Shirky, 2011). There has been an increase since 1990, in the cross-border flow of media outputs, the growth of trans-national content (TNC) and increases in the centralisation of media control, and the intensification of commercialisation (Fraser, 2007). Some of the positive side benefits are stimulation of a competitive edge in the otherwise complacent, and poorly performing state-controlled media organisations. It has also increased the dissemination of popular culture to the remotest parts of the world through the diffusion of media products (Boeder, 2005). Some of these values embedded in these cultural products were formerly predominant in the west such as individualism, scepticism of authority and increase in awareness of women rights. One major downside to this global incursion into national territories is the greater emphasis on media commercialisation under the force of competition and bottom-line pressure (Herman & McChesney 1997).

The practice of media commercialisation has its internal logic because the media under such formation are usually privately owned and rely solely on advertisers' support which can erode the public sphere (McKee, 2005; McNair, 2012). The emphasis of most media under such arrangements is the creation of a culture of entertainment that is adverse to the growth of democracy, with the result that "media outputs are commodified and designed to serve market ends and not citizenship needs (Herman & McChesney 1997, p.11). Media systems often show how the patterns of the political economy and newspapers especially have been affected. These have come under business control as a result of the growth of capitalism over time (Herman & McChesney 1997).

Cultural politics cannot be removed from the broader spectrum of politics and culture, which from time to time becomes an issue of public debate in a democracy. Media operators through their decisions perform the act of political and cultural guidance, and there is evidence that they often do not have the public interest in mind while playing such roles (Bogart 1995, p.296). Bogart asserted that 'there could be no such thing as non-political media content; even the most trivial entertainment symbolically embodied a world view' (Bogart 1995, p.297). In other words, media content is continuously affirming or refuting a political ideology.

Furthermore, media in any democracy are expected to serve the public interest, which is partly a matter of what members of the public are interested in but much more a matter of what concerns the collective interests of the public. This range of interest comprises of promoting diversity in society through their programming format and contents, reflecting multicultural notions, divergent views, thereby avoiding homogeneity (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.34).

The media serves the public interest when it engages the citizens with critical information during an election that they may otherwise not be aware. The media should also venture outside the box and not be limited to paternalistic or elitist viewpoints (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.37). CPE critique of media products emphasises that the media practitioners or organisations should always act above board knowing the sensitive nature of the product they deal with, which is unlike others in the economic market. The potential tension between public interest and commercial interest is actualised at times in acute form, particularly concerning aspects of the media business such as advertising. How then does political advertising specifically affect election news coverage during an election?

#### **4.5 POLITICAL ADVERTISING AND ELECTION COVERAGE OF COMMERCIALISED NEWSPAPERS**

The rise of the media market structure should not be a recent development but has roots going back five centuries. It can be traced first to the profitability of printing technology. "[O]ne important consequence of the invention of the printing technology was to involve entrepreneurs closely in the process of spreading knowledge" (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Clarke, 2017). Before the invention of printing, availability of books was highly limited, with estimates ranging from five hundred to one thousand copies in England. By the end of the seventeenth century in England, as many as three to four million almanacs were in print (Bhattacharyya, 2012).

Another development was that printers started publishing catalogues to advertise the various forms of literature they have in print with other types of advertising. Advertising supportive roles in print developed during this period (Picard, 2008; Pollay, 1985).

The development of advertising in print is based on the assertion that a newspaper should carry about six advertisements, which establishes the actual birth of the commercial newspaper (Leonidou et al., 2006). The news was viewed as a commodity by

such satirist as Ben Jonson who illustrated this with a play titled *The Staple of News*, one of the earliest critiques of the first signs of the consumer society (Briggs & Burke, 2005).

Another scholar agreed that one of the significant features of commercialisation is advertising (Vos & Li, 2013) otherwise called advertising finance (Hardy, 2014b). An advertising-influenced media system tends to favour commercially friendly media content, large aggregate audiences or affluent niche audiences, and disfavour less accessible content and the preferences of those constituting more impoverished groups, or interests, in society (Gandy 2004; Turow 1997,2011 in Hardy, 2014b,p.104). Evidence of this will be provided later in the discussion of the analysed data from New Zealand and Nigeria.

There is a blurred line between advertising-supported and consumer-supported media (Rust & Oliver, 1994). Newspapers mostly publish a mixture of news, opinion, and entertainment but have recently substituted enlightenment with amusements for their teeming readers, in most of their added news pages and columns (Bogart, 1995). Content supported advertisements are usually more used than other forms as exclusive adverts and advertising media by choice (Bogart, 1995). The media has a unique advertisement format as different from other industries. The media does not sell its contents as products to advertisers but rather the consumers of these contents (Croteau & Hoynes 2002). The advertisement logic is that media contents have to be organised in such a manner to attract the readers who invariably will attract the advertisers (Croteau & Hoynes, 2002; 2006).

Advertisers can play a significant role in the development of editorial content (Bogart, 1995). Advertisers and mainstream media seek large audiences with uncontroversial fare, so that hard news presented in-depth, public affairs debates and documentaries tend to disappear. Although, advertising reflects the public's desires, this fact is often not actualised, as the advertisers always prevail and not the people (Herman & McChesney 1997, p.128; Bogart, 1995). The market treats audiences as consumers but does not give them a choice to choose programmes but instead decides together with the advertisers on what program is featured. The commercial media serve audiences on advertisers' terms which is an anti-democratic move. It also increases centralisation of 'ownership, links to advertisers and dependence on politics and makes it conservative and hostile to

dissent and debate on issues that challenge the status quo' (Herman & McChesney 1997, p.191; Bogart, 1995).

Different scholars express various views on the influence of political advertisement, suggesting there are multiple overlapping factors at play. For example, Bogart (1995) asserts that political advertisements among other spheres of advertisements, often reflect partisan views intended to sway public opinion in their interest. Candidates in election campaigns are even referred to as products by advertising agencies (Bogart, 1995). Others affirm that there is also the portrayal of media owners' influence in political advertising as it is carried out to curry the favour of future office holders. For example, Graber & Dunaway (2017); Bagdikian, (2007) state that some instances abound from the United Kingdom and the United States where media owners like Murdoch influence policies that favour their conglomerates. Also, political advertisements targets "swing voters" who do not often have firmly founded policy convictions. Advertising sometimes affects media content by overriding what honest or even disinterested news to serve private interests is (Roberts, & McComb 1994).

In addition, corporate giants use press releases as a form of influence on the news medium (Bogart, 1995). The media sometimes modify their contents subtly to maximise advertising income, e.g. newspapers can conjure up a feature article that reflect the advertisements they carry (Price, 2003). Target marketing enables advertisers to identify the media that have their desired consumers and to patronise such. Political advertisers in the same vein may target media that are used by their intended voters (Bogart, 1995).

The judgments of advertisers are often inimical to the survival of vigorous, independent, and competitive journalism (Bogart, 2004). Advertisers seeking efficiency, go with the winner, who presumably offer economies of scale (Gamson et al. 1992). It should be noted that high-quality and engaging newspapers have died, even though hundreds of thousands of people were willing to pay for them and read them faithfully each day; they died because advertisers reduced their schedules (Bogart, 1995). Readership, circulations, different ownership strategies, advertisement rates, audience size, are all usually considered before patronage of a newspaper during an election (Bogart, 1995). The influence of commercial culture can show throughout our political system. "Politics is the stuff of news and the rules imposed by the pursuit of the mass audiences that advertisers want" (Bogart, 1995, p.299).

Advertisers' influence on news content is often subtle and indirect as the newspapers are often compelled to censor their content to retain the patronage (Croteau & Hoynes, 2002; 2006). There are no way newspapers can claim indifference in their types of content and the types of political advertisement they feature or not. The effects are ever present and all-encompassing on content transferring invariably to the readers and the conduct of democratic elections. Therefore, we will specifically examine the forms of ownership of newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria and the attendant influence on political news portrayal.

#### **4.6 NEWSPAPER OWNERSHIP AND COMMERCIALISATION IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA**

Ownership of newspapers invariably affects its functioning and effectiveness. There are different perspectives of the effects of ownership on newspapers. One is that "the ownership structure of the news media profoundly affects their contents (Bogart 1995, p.225). Another scholar mentions that "Owners vary in the degree that they seek profits, public goods or partisan ends" (Hamilton, 2004 p.24). Also, "Ownership is central to the functionality, style, outlook, survival, and perception of newspapers" (Adesoji & Hahn 2011, p.177). The suggestion is, therefore, that, "for the media to fulfil the principal role of information dissemination, ownership, and control of media outlets should be broad and diversified, with many owners instead of few large ones" (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.22).

Newspapers' outlets from Nigeria and New Zealand have two predominant forms of ownership. The first is conglomeration of the New Zealand newspapers. The second is sole proprietorship which are independent and commercial entities owned by private individuals in Nigeria. There were also government-owned newspapers in Nigeria, which were mostly in public interest, but all such newspapers have ceased to exist.

During the pre-1980s newspaper era in New Zealand, there were regulations limiting foreign ownership of domestic media companies. Moreover, there were restrictions on takeovers and mergers (Hardy, 2014b). All these restrictions were swept away by the introduction of neoliberalism, and this made way for a high level of concentration and conglomeration within and across the media markets (Buchanan, 2013; Rudd, 2013). The trend of ownership for New Zealand daily newspapers changed from family independent ownership, and continued until two Australian-based media conglomerates, Fairfax and

APN owned nearly all titles (Rosenberg, 2002; Derby, 2014). The conglomerate holdings of New Zealand newspapers started after the deregulation policy of the Labour Government in the 1980s which gave opportunities to transnational corporate giants. By March 1987 Rupert Murdoch's NewsCorp had obtained 40 per cent of INL; which increased to 49 per cent in 1989 (Hope, 2017). John Fairfax Holdings Limited, an Australian-owned company, in 2003 paid \$1.188 billion to acquire 45 per cent from Murdoch's initial holdings. This new corporate holding comprises the daily newspapers such as *The Press*, with the largest circulation newspaper in the South Island. Fairfax also owns other prominent titles such as *Dominion Post*. In 2008 Fairfax had 71.8% of the audited circulation of the country's five national weekly newspapers (Rosenberg, 2008). It has since begun the process of merging with Australia's Nine, expected to be completed in 2019. The second newspaper conglomerate is NZME, formerly known as APN News and Media (ANM). Its major newspaper holding is the *New Zealand Herald*, and also owns community newspapers covering Auckland, Hamilton, Bay of Plenty, Hawke's Bay, and Wellington (Rosenberg, 2008).

Besides these newspapers and magazines, Fairfax also owns a number of websites such as stuff.co.nz, trademe.co.nz, (now sold), business day.co.nz, Neighbourly and others while APN owns www.nzherald.co.nz and a number of specialist publications aimed at advertisement markets (Rosenberg, 2008).

Hope (2017) summarised the effect from the media conglomeration form of ownership in New Zealand as

The free market colonisation of economic language enables a mainstream media-communication system whose various components largely depend on advertising revenue, the commercialisation of news content and the repatriation of profits offshore. The general results have been catastrophic for those committed to public sphere principles. Newsrooms contracted, news content thinned out, and current affairs journalism disappeared. We have an overbearing convergence of finance, political and media culture which obscures the issues of media ownership (Hope, 2017, p.1).

Arguments are made in various quarters about the effectiveness of the New Zealand newspaper industry in spite of its conglomeration structure, about its commitments to public interest especially furthering democracy in an election year. The argument is one of the major areas the thesis intends to justify or refute.

On the other hand, in Nigeria, commercialisation looks quite different. Even with the advent of democratic rule in 1999, there seems to have been an upsurge in the practice of commercialisation by media organisations that affiliates themselves with political structures that are financially favourable towards them. This affiliation, of course, affects the credibility, objectivity, fairness, and balance of media products turned out by these organisations (Odunlami et al., 2015). Put in other words, sole owners of most of the Nigerian commercialised newspapers, "identify with the communities their newspapers publish in, encourage civic participation through information provision, and often have the desire to influence the outcome of an election through their publications" (Hamilton, 2004 p.24).

The arrival of the term commercialisation in the Nigerian media lexicon followed the introduction of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme as the remedy for Nigeria's ailing economy by the military government. Like its twin, deregulation, commercialisation as applied by the military regime then, came in different nuances. There were partial and full-scale commercialisations depending on the fate and lot of whatever organisation that was so listed. The idea of commercialisation was for corporations or organisations which hitherto had depended on government to source for their revenue and be self-sustaining (Odunlami et al., 2015). For example, in Nigeria, the newspapers media market was partly under government control as some were government owned. Businesspeople in the guise of nationalist and politicians however owned newspapers from the beginning and majorly do now (Duyile, 2004; Sklar, 2015).

The desire for profit motivates the foray into sole proprietorship or private ownership of newspapers in Nigeria although most owners do not often succeed in accruing their desired bottom-line. A number of scholars argue that the temptation to sustain production, therefore, leads to serving the different political, social, ethnic, religious, and economic interests in order to break even (Adesoji & Hahn 2011; Edeani 1985). This alternative goal is disguised as working for the public interest, whereas they argue, the underlying motivation is political interest (Olayiwola, 1991). One of the proofs cited for this overall conflict of interest within the media sector is the surge in the direct and indirect ownership of newspapers by 'rich politicians, mostly serving or former governors, retired military officers, and former newspaper editors' (Adesoji & Hahn 2011; Tobechukwu, 2007).



Sole owners of Nigerian newspapers are often in charge of the appointment of editors, whom they can hire and fire at whims. Another feature of some privately-owned Nigerian newspapers is the direct involvement of the owners in the daily operations and news process (Oso, 2012). For example, at *This Day* newspaper, founded in 1995, the publisher, Nduka Obaigbena is also the editor-in-chief since its establishment. This practice is also the case in some weekly news magazines, including *Newswatch*, *Tell* and *The News*, which had their owners actively involved as administrators, editors, and writers (Adesoji & Hahn 2011). Prominent newspapers in Nigeria with sole owners and private ownership are *Business Day*, *Compass*, *Vanguard*, *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Leadership*, *Punch*, *The Daily Champion*, *Thisday*, *the Sun*, *Daily Trust*, *Daily News Wire*, *The Nation*, *Newswatch*, *Observer*, *Sahara Reporters*, and *Tell Magazine* among others (Nigerian Press Council, 2013). Chapter 5 discusses the inclusion of three of these newspapers in this study. However, other chapters intend to portray from the content analysis and interviews data, the implication of this form of ownership, the challenges and impacts on news content, processes, and dissemination during the election.

#### **4.7 CHALLENGES OF ELECTION COVERAGE AND PROFESSIONALISM AMONG COMMERCIAL NEWSPAPER JOURNALISTS’**

Research question two focuses on the processes, challenges of political newspaper journalists’ coverage of an election. Journalists, in spite of their adherence to their professional roles or sometimes deviation, encounter numerous difficulties. For newspaper journalists, like workers in any other media enterprise, research suggests that these problems threaten their professionalism (Kuhn & Neveu, 2013; Smith, 2003; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2009).

More so, during the coverage of the election in any democracy, these weaknesses are more visible. Some of the accusations are of reducing politics to a horse race, emphasising personal scandals of politicians, lack of attention to serious issues, ‘Americanisation’ of political campaigning or the ‘Hollywoodization of news’ (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p.169).

Also, a resultant effect of commercialised newspapers reporting during an election is the undeterred focus on sensationalism and trivialisation of political issues in order to attract readers, cum advertisers. The portrayal uses ‘yellow journalism’ which targets profits and circulation figures rather than promotes issues that generate public discourse and move democracy forward (Croteau & Hoynes 2006).

Other challenges relate to the ethics, rules, regulations, and forms of censorship that guide the practice. Restrictions can be external or self-censorship. There are two forms of self-censorship. The media organisations impose one on themselves, through the perception of possible criticism from others which leads to changes in media content. The external bodies responsible for these promptings are the government or professional regulatory organisation. The second is from media ownership such as forms of conglomeration or corporatisation. This form happens within the media organisation. (Croteau & Hoynes 2006). This challenge is experienced based on the type of ownership structure of each newspaper or media, and all affect the portrayal of news by the media especially during an election, through total avoidance of the story or softening of tones (Croteau & Hoynes 2006).

In Nigeria, for example, where sole proprietorship is widespread, the influence of the 'brown envelope' on journalistic practice during the election is rampant. The trend is also partially due to irregular salary payment and unhealthy working conditions (Agbanu, 2009; Ekeanyanwu, 2012; Lodamo & Skjerdal, 2009). Although the era of militarisation of the Nigerian media has passed, the government influences the newspapers through advertisement patronage based on relationships with media owners who have similar political interests.

New Zealand journalists, on the other hand, are not characterised in the literature as having such temptations. New Zealand is near the top of the list of least corrupt countries in the world (Elliott 1997; Kaikati et al. 2000). Rather corporatisation of their media organisation imposes on them the suspicious attendant on sponsorships. Sponsorship produces deeper control over the context of a program or publication more than advertisements (Bogart, 1995). However, sponsorship is said not to have much influence on political reporting unlike other areas such as sports (Flöter et al., 2016; Masterman, 2007).

The concept of professionalism in journalism developed to reduce the extent that political agendas of owners, advertisers or the editors and reporters themselves, could influence the news. Professionalism represents the concept of objectivity to which trained professionals apply neutral news values so that accounts of public affairs tend towards sameness no matter who the reporter is, or which medium carries the news (Herman & McChesney 1997).

Professionalism implies a dual dedication to craftsmanship and public service. It means that the press pays detailed attention to its principles even in the midst of limited competition as a result of conglomeration and submits to the primacy of the public interest. The assertion further reaffirms an idea earlier stated, that commercialism should never be sacrificed for democracy. Professional journalism is one who can balance the use of commercialisation to expand public participation in the democracy which in returns generates needed profit. It further represents a reasonably simple basis for the pursuit of integrity in interpretative journalism (Bogart 1995, pp.289-290).

Bogart states:

"In the mass media, professionalism requires procedures and an organisational structure that gives practitioners a high measure of autonomy and enhances their sense of importance, worth, and pride in the work. Such feelings may be especially hard to preserve when the role of so many media practitioner is strictly auxiliary to the advertising of commodities. But the frustrations that media professionals face in a commercial culture may seem less irritating when they consider the alternative, which is to let politicians or bureaucrats decide what is worthy and what is not (Bogart 1995, p.290).

Unfortunately, the doctrine of professionalism and objectivity readily accommodate the interest of owners and advertisers. For example, the objectivity rule called for citing credible sources, but economic considerations plus public acceptability and recognition value have often been argued to lead to the media's heavy and uncritical reliance on officials during coverage of government activities (Herman & McChesney 1997, p. 193). Further evidence to this is shown in the thesis data analysis chapters.

Furthermore, there are loopholes in the rules of objectivity. The rules called for the balance of citing both sides but there may be more than two sides to the news and citing does not preclude serious favouritism. Objectivity rules also have less purchase on what slant to take or what story to select in the first place. Moreover, professionalism and its antecedent factors are often discouraged by bottom-line pressures since good journalism is expensive and often substituted for by materials provided by public relations, syndicated articles, and fillers (Herman & McChesney 1997).

The process of covering election imposes an immense amount of pressure especially while sourcing or gathering the news. For example, in American politics, newspapers' editorial support still counts for a great deal in local contests, although their influence is not valued in presidential politics because of their partisanship (Bogart 1995, p.299).

Lack of experienced human resources constitutes other forms of challenges such as journalists from other beats have to be drafted in (Ekeanyanwu, 2006). Another is sifting through or writing the news. There is also the presentation about the sources cited. Stakeholders in the election want their interests represented, and this affects journalists' framing of the news (Fountaine & McGregor, 2002).

In the same vein, partisan media bias generally identifies a significant pitfall in journalists' coverage of elections. Often in a democracy, journalists are accused of emphasising groups with liberal views more than the conservative views, or vice versa also called coverage bias (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000). The journalists may influence the electorates through the party they feature, the political policies they portray or not; this is also referred to as political bias (Hopmann et al., 2011; Stroud et al., 2014).

Another challenge is the quality of political news. Picard (2004) links the commercialising trends of newspapers with a decline in quality. The primary aim of the journalist in a democracy is to provide enough information for its sustenance, where they fail, democracy is also at risk. Unfortunately, with the pressure of market-driven journalism demands and competing for new media, this is often the case as political news turns into a circus instead of critical discussion (Bennett, 2003; Zaller, 2003).

This study thus finds it necessary to interview political journalists and editors, on the processes and challenges encountered, in coverage of New Zealand 2014 September election and the Nigeria 2015 March election. Chapters 9 & 10 of the thesis discuss the transcription from the in-depth interviews.

Chapter three enumerates the central theme of democracy and how it affects the political lives of New Zealand and Nigeria. The knowledge from the literature reviews also shows what constitute the streams of government political activities and representative democracy. The variables from chapter three and four formulate the content categories used to analyse the newspapers from each country. There is more discussion in chapter 5, the methodology that shows how this study uses these categories.

## **CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The terms analysis, coverage, examination, evaluation, or portrayals of contents in newspapers are generally related to the framing theory. More so, when such framing is carried out within a media sphere, which in this study, is focused through study of the newspaper. Several media scholars have conducted research, with recourse to the framing theory, and they use the content analysis as their methodology. Some of such studies are: Nacos (2005); Bystrom et al. (2001); Powell (2011).

### **5.2. FRAMING AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY THEORIES.**

Framing as an aspect of media effects theory is closely related to social constructivism when viewed from the perspective of political communication (Scheufele, 1999). "Social constructionist inquiry is principally concerned with explicating the processes by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves) in which they live" (Gergen, 1985,p.266). Tuchman (1978) posits that news participates in the social construction of reality. This social construction can be studied in terms of the frame which influences the choices people make about how to process that information (Gavin, 2014). News framing theory suggests the presence of a story or occurrence to the audience. News framing or media framing are the making of stories, the selection and organisation of pieces of information (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Gitlin, 2001; Tuchman, 1978). The media through the selection of news focus attention on certain events and then place them within a field of meaning which is also called frame building (Boesman et al., 2017; De Vreese, 2005). "Frames are in effect negotiated among sources, editors and reporters" (Gitlin, 2003,p.274). Framing is essential as a focal point for this study since it can have a significant influence on the perception and presentation of the commercialised newspapers on election, democracy, and government political activities. Framing and social construction of reality are consistent theories that focus attention on how mediation plays a role in lived reality.

The social construction of reality theory developed by Schutz (1967), Berger and Lukmann (1967) identifies the fact that the media play a central role in the development and use of meanings in society (Adoni & Mane, 1984). "The social construction of reality is a dialectical process in which human beings act both as creators and as products of their social world" (Adoni & Mane, 1984,p.3). Gamson et al. (1992, p.374) argue that

"media-generated images of the world construct meaning about political and social issues received through lenses which are not neutral but operate or focus from the political and economic elites who operate them".

'Meaning' is accrued by integrating an incident within the order of everyday life. The meaning creates the actual reality of the occurrence within its social context instead of the phenomenon itself (Van den Bulck, 1999). The social dimension of language uses an expression of situations and happenings in society. It also relates to news as it becomes an expression through writings in the newspapers or otherwise that connects to the social context in which it occurs. Thus, the reality is conferred not on the incidents or happenings but in the way; they were portrayed or reflected by the socially accepted means of communication (which is the newspaper in this instance). The news is a linguistic signification of the social life of reality (Lau, 2012). It is used to form the institution of objective reality through the act of typifying (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

The media is viewed from different perspectives by various schools of thought depending on the expectation of society and the function it is required to fulfil. The media have both a structural component, derived from the technological setup and the cultural elements, because of the contents it transmits. There exist other bodies within society that are different from the media institution (McQuail, 2010). To be able to fulfil the role of both a part of society and a moderator of the events in society, the media is engaged in a role known as the 'mediation concept of contact with social reality' (McQuail, 2010,p.83). There had been an earlier distinction between the mediation of reality by the media in which mass media messages were assumed to have caused a division between the public terrain and the personal sphere where individuals could communicate freely and directly (McQuail, 2010). The contrast is however unhelpful in the sense that the mass media are not genuinely free agents like the rest of society. The lack of freedom is because there are informal forms of control in place within society at large and even the structural components of the media. These forms of power are targeted at shaping the construction of reality (McQuail, 2010). The content analysis is therefore suitable as the first methodology for this study and to answer the research questions on the portrayal of government political activities and representative democracy since it draws on the notion of framing.

The second methodology adopted for this study that also supports these assertions is an in-depth interview with political journalists. The method enables the examination of the media practices, challenges and process around news gathering during elections. The transcript of the interview forms the basis to understand the social construction of the reality of covering news in an election year by the commercialised newspapers, at the same time as the interview is acknowledged to be also constituting reality.

Similarly, the use of content analysis shows the portrayal of government activities and representative democracy from the newspapers. The analysis reflects the evidence or influence of the commercialised media, on the social construction of reality. That is why the media, to avert any undue influence must facilitate public participation and debate over public affairs such as government policies in a bid to promote participatory or deliberative democracy in the public sphere.

This study uses some of those terms, and based on a detailed or in-depth examination of the subjects - newspaper content and journalists and editors' roles in an election. The aim is to reach a greater understanding or obtain new information, especially while comparing an emerging democracy with an established democracy (Croucher et al., 2014; Noffke & Somekh, 2009).

In other words, this study determines how and what commercialised print media portray as political news during New Zealand and Nigerian national elections. It also examines the process, challenges, journalists and editors face and the influence of funding that affect their framing of news contents. The research methods are therefore a precise technique or procedure to examine the problem.

Communication researchers are often in the habit of using more than one method which is often encouraged by several scholars (Albæk et al., 2014; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Sandelowski, 2000; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). The approach is also called a multimethod or mixed methods approach (Brewer & Hunter, 2006; Greene, 2007). This study uses two different research methods: quantitative content analysis and the qualitative in-depth interviews (Gunter, 2010), to examine the framework discussed in chapter 2, 3 & 4. This chapter also emphasises the advantages and disadvantages of undertaking a comparative study. It then discusses the justification for the methodology adopted for this research and how each step of the study and fieldwork was carried out by the researcher in answering the four research questions formulated.

### 5. 3 STRENGTHS OF COMPARATIVE MEDIA RESEARCH

There are numerous advantages in the practice and development of comparative media research. First, Hanusch (2008) observes that it is useful in promoting the knowledge about another culture in the culture that compare within an increasingly interconnected world. Second, Alasuutari (1995) claims research works done in a single country, will be impossible to apply to media practices in another country unless the study is also replicated. Another advantage is that it is possible to focus on areas of the media systems that would have been difficult to detect if the study is on a single country (Blumler, McLeod & Rosengren 1992b). Comparative media research “provides an important check on the generalisations implicit” in our concepts and forces us to clarify the limits of their application (Bendix 1963:535 in Esser & Pfetsch 2004; Hallin & Mancini 2004). For example, if the researchers fail to consider the extent to which the findings may reflect their national context, those reading the research reports will undoubtedly find themselves asking how far the conclusions also apply in their own, or other, countries (Kohn 1989).

Another strength of comparative media research is that it provides the opportunity “to test hypotheses about the interrelationships among social phenomena, test theories across diverse settings and see the cases where they are simultaneously present or absent” (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.4). For example, Gurevitch and Blumler (1990, cited in Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.4.) claim that “the belief that the media have become an important ‘exogenous’ variable affecting other political institutions is one reason scholars in comparative politics have begun to pay attention to media institutions they previously ignored”.

Comparative media research further contributes to the understanding of cultural, political, and historical context that influences their media systems. It also forces us to test our interpretations against cross-cultural differences and inconsistencies of a specific country (Hanitzsch 2009; Kohn 1989; Gurevitch and Blumer 1990).

The comparison can act as a substitute since we cannot subject the whole world to experimentation (Peters 1998). It, therefore, promotes global scholarship, facilitating the exchange of knowledge (Tsetsura & Klyueva 2012).



Finally, as will be discovered from the thesis, it also has a more creative and innovative role - opening up new avenues (Blumler, McLeod & Rosengren 1992b p. 8). It produces an enormous wealth of practical knowledge and experiences (Esser & Pfetsch 2004).

#### **5. 4 THE DRAWBACKS OF COMPARATIVE MEDIA RESEARCH**

In spite of the numerous advantages, comparative media research also has some drawbacks. It can be ethnocentric itself, imposing on diverse systems a framework that reflects the point of view of one of these (Hallin & Mancini 2004). Hanitzsch (2009 p.422) also states that “the studies mostly compare other nations to their own countries by evaluating cultures through the lens of their cultural value-systems. They focus on differences between the units of analysis and tends to understate heterogeneities within the examined cultures, ignoring the fact that, occasionally, variances within cultures may be more significant than those across cultural boundaries” Other scholars such as (Blumler, McLeod & Rosengren 1992b; Livingstone 2003; Øyen 2004) supported this assertion.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue that comparative media research although extremely valuable is also challenging to do well, ‘especially when the state of the field is relatively primitive’. This is so, they say, largely because of the risks in seeking ‘to generalise across many nations, whose media systems, histories, and political cultures we cannot know with equal depth and has many practical difficulties’ (Hallin & Mancini 2004). Also, “comparative projects are described as ‘exhausting’, ‘a nightmare’ and ‘frustrating’ by media researchers” (Livingstone, 2003, p. 481). For example, expressions such as “we realise that collaborative research across cultures is fraught with difficulties” and ‘this international collaborative effort was not easy’ are sometimes voiced by scholars after conducting such studies (Livingstone, 2003, p. 481).

Livingstone (2003) describes Sreberny-Mohammadi et al’s (1985 p. 10) reflection on the gap between ambition and achievement as ‘a notably honest and helpful account of the many pragmatic considerations and compromises involved in comparative research’. They note that ‘in practice it proved impossible to develop agreed guidelines for such an ambitious undertaking’ (See also Haddon, 1998; Livingstone and Lemish, 2001).

Another one of the drawbacks in comparative analysis is the problem of “many variables, few cases” (Lijphart 1971 in Hallin & Mancini 2004). A daunting disclaimer by a foremost

communication theorist also states that “comparing journalists across national boundaries and cultures is a game of guesswork at best” (Weaver 1998, p. 455).

Hanitzsch (2009), drawing partly on his own comparative work, further postulates that a significant challenge lies in the epistemological domain. Since cross-cultural studies often implicitly assume methodological and theoretical universalism, they are vulnerable to the production of out-of-context measurement or viewing ‘other’ nations through a western lens (Livingstone, 2003). This view is also called western bias due to the Anglo-American dominance in journalism studies resulting from the long tradition of journalism studies, accompanied by the concentration of academic and textbook publishers in Great Britain and the United States, and the fact that English has developed into a world language (Joseph, 2006).

Equivalence is a main problem in comparative research. Researchers are admonished to not only make sure they apply concepts equivalently in all cultures, but they also ought to use equivalent research methods and administrative procedures. Hence, if researchers speak of “professional roles” as a concept, they need to ensure that it covers its functional equivalent- that is, all relevant aspects in a given cultural realm- in every single culture included in a comparative study (van Vijver & Leung, 1997; Wirth & Kolb, 2004).

Furthermore, researchers need to invest considerable effort in the development of research instruments which must be thoughtfully developed, consequently pre-tested, carefully adjusted and strictly applied. Whatever considerations serve as the rationale for the sampling, the units of analysis should be chosen within a conceptual framework that justifies their comparison (Chang et al., 2001). In reality, however, investigators in comparative journalism researches have often failed to present a rationale for their mix of countries.

The term nation undermines cultural differences and therefore difficult to define as a unit. It means that the analysis can be distinctly underwhelming, too often taking the form of nation-by-chapter reporting which leaves the making of comparisons up to the reader (Livingstone 2003). Cross-national collaboration confuses the boundary between the professional and the personal. It would seem that few similar projects succeed unless the researchers involved become, to some degree, friends.

## **5.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND APPLIED RESEARCH METHODS**

The information from the literature reviews undertaken in chapters 2, 3 & 4 on the history of newspapers and descriptions of democracy correlates with the theories of the public sphere, critical political economy and the normative theories adopted subsequently. Two methods are found useful in answering the four research questions which this study proposes. The table below reflects the four research questions and each of the research methods used.

**TABLE 5.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODS AND THEORIES APPLIED**

<b>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</b>	<b>RESEARCH METHODS</b>
(1.) What are the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy and political activities as reflected in the political columns of New Zealand and Nigerian's commercialised newspapers?	Quantitative Content analysis
(2.) What are the media practices and challenges among political journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria?	In-depth Interviews
(3.) What are the sources of funding, for political news and the influences of sponsorships, training, incentives, or inducements on the process of news coverage and dissemination?	In-depth Interviews
(4.) What are the differences and similarities in the portrayal of issues relating to representational democracy and government political activities?	Quantitative Content analysis and In-depth Interviews



Each of the research questions formulated is based on one or more of the theory or theories, discussed in the preceding chapters although in an overlapping way. The social construction of reality or framing theory justifies the examination of the content, which is the portrayal of government political activities and representative democracy, from the newspapers. New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers are the public spheres in which examines democracy from the discussions or articles analysed. The normative theories adopted the four media roles in a democracy which are the monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical roles. Research questions one and four examine these theories. The critical political economy theory justifies the analysis of the commercialised newspapers especially in studying the influence of funding, incentives, inducements, and sponsorships on their portrayals. Research question three focuses on this area. However, the next discussion is on the process and justification for the use of each of the research methods.

## **5.6 QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS**

The first method of studying this research work is quantitative content analysis. Content analysis is an objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952). It further seeks to analyse and make replicable and valid inferences from data in their context (Krippendorff, 1989). Content analysis is used to test theoretical issues and improve their understanding. It gathers and analyse words or concepts into fewer content categories. It was first used as a method for examining hymns, newspaper and magazines articles, advertisements, and political speeches (Elo & Kynga, 2008). In this work, selected papers from both New Zealand and Nigeria were analysed by two coders, the researcher and a field assistant who was trained for the thesis specific research purpose. The intercoder reliability measurement will be discussed later in the chapter.

Riffe, Lacy and Fisco (2014, p.19) vividly describe content analysis as:

The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurements rules, and the analysis of relationships, involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption.

The quantitative content analysis research method will be explored in further detail, explaining the various numeric values used in the examination of the political contents of the selected newspapers in both countries under study.

Content categories formulated are relevant and reflective of the messages and what the researcher seeks to examine in this study. This study adopts content categories which reflect two of the four levels of communication; the newspapers' content which is the message, or the articles analysed, and the journalists who are the senders. Content analysis is widely used, since Berelson (1952) advocated for international comparative work, to reveal the focus of individual, group, institutions, or societal attention and describe trends in communication content. The description, therefore, attests to the appropriate use of content analysis in this research because there is a substantial international difference between New Zealand and Nigeria as established in the literature review section.

There is usually a distinction made between types of content analysis. These are qualitative content analysis (Forman & Damschroder, 2007; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and the quantitative content analysis (Barringer et al., 2005; Krippendorff, 2012; Lombard et al., 2002).

Riffe et al. (1998) describes quantitative content analysis as

The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the study of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the connection, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption.

Furthermore, Riffe et al., (2014,p.19) itemise the relevance and importance of quantitative analysis in communication research, stating that:

...only this information gathering technique enables us to illuminate patterns in communication content reliably and validly. And only through the reliable and valid illumination of such patterns can we hope to illuminate content causes or predict content effects.

The qualitative content analysis, on the other hand, is a robust method for analysing large amounts of qualitative data collected through interviews or focus groups (Schreier, 2012). The qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The process involved in the qualitative content analysis shows

conflicting opinions and unsolved issues regarding the purpose and use of concepts, procedures, and interpretation. The data derived from the narratives and observations requires understanding and co-operation between the researcher and the participants, such that texts based on interviews and observations are mutual, contextual and value bound (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

The definitions above show the differences between quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Because this study intends to answer the question of the levels and the portrayal of political discourse in a commercialised newspaper during an election, the quantitative content analysis is adjudged appropriate for solving the identified first and second research questions. Several symbols of communication in a newspaper article are classified according to their relevance to the research. The researcher tried to establish how political news before, during and after an election is reflected in the content of the commercialised selected newspapers. The reflection results in the formulation of content categories which were used to measure or analyse the newspaper contents.

## **5.7 CONTENT CATEGORIES OPERATIONALISATION**

One of the aims of content analysis is to attain a brief and broad description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the investigation is the concepts or categories used in describing the articles. Usually, the purpose of those concepts or categories is to build up a model, conceptual system, conceptual map, or categories. The researcher chooses between the terms 'concept' and 'category' and uses one or the other (Kynga & Vanhanen 1999 in Elo & Kynga, 2008).

Therefore, the researcher adopts some content and coding categories derived from the theoretical postulations which arise primarily out of the normative theories of the press discussed in chapter four. Christians et al. (2009) postulate four critical roles of journalism in a democracy, which are monitorial, facilitative, radical, and collaborative. Furthermore, the literature in the thesis discovers that political news coverage in an election year focuses on two aspects of democracy. These are issues dealing with the coverage of the election, termed representative democracy and issues relating to the activities of the government which is government political activities (Bratton & Lewis, 2007; Cameron, 2004; Rossiter et al. 2013).

The term levels of portrayal use a means of measurement for the political news analysed. Levels operationalised as the quantity and quality of the portrayal in the newspapers. The study is intended to examine the number and extent of political news coverage in an



election year. This research assumes that there could be an influence on the portrayal of democracy and about these two aspects of political news coverage due to the fact that the newspapers in New Zealand and Nigerian are commercialised. Several scholars have corroborated the influence of commercialisation of newspaper on their portrayal of democracy (Herbert & Thurman, 2007; McMenamin et al., 2013; Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Skovsgaard & Arjen, 2013).

In all, this study uses seven content categories. These are types of articles, the length of the articles, sources cited in the articles, placement/prominence of articles, representative democracy, government political activities, and media roles in a democracy. All the articles including advertisement, editorials and advertorials analysed under these categories solely based on political news. Newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria have different issues in society that they cover which is known as news beats. The differences could include politics, entertainment, sports, arts and culture, law reports, science, and others. Political news analysed are those articles that relate to government activities and issues of the election for the period under investigation.

#### **5.7.1 TYPES OF ARTICLES**

This category labelled types of articles needs some further explanation. In most studies of newspapers using content analysis, there is an identification of the significance of the different types of items used in reporting news (Espírito Santo & Costa, 2016; Rankine et al., 2014; Reason & García, 2007; Song & Chang, 2012). The researcher has conceptualised types of articles as the various forms of writing that were engaged in by political journalists during the coverage of elections in New Zealand. The broad categories for types of articles in a newspaper are the editorial and the advertorials (McChesney, 2003). "The editorial format for newspaper news can assume one of three forms: discursive, descriptive and tendentious (argumentative)" (Franklin, 2008,p.38). The advertorial form of the newspaper denotes any write-up or diagram, or picture published and paid for in a newspaper. These are usually advertorials and advertisements. The editorial structure of the newspaper further represents different sub-categories such as the news stories, the feature, and letter to the editor, cartoons, photo news, supplements, and opinion articles. The advertorial part of the articles consists of the adverts and the advertorials.

### **5.7.2 LENGTH OF THE ARTICLES:**

Space is to newspapers what airtime is to the broadcast media. One of the key measurements of the commercialisation of news is the length of space allocated to the article. The length of space assigned to items indicates the depth of the reporting or not as used by (Bartlett et al., 2002; Hilbert & Ried, 2009). Sometimes, if it is an advertisement or advertorials, more space is allocated at the expense of other types of articles. The length of the article is discussed based on the type of article it reflects in chapter six and seven.

### **5.7.3 SOURCES CITED IN THE ARTICLES:**

Newspapers articles on issues that relate to political discourse, in the forms of representative democracy/election and government political activities, needs some forms of attestation and validation (Gans, 2003). The proof comes from the sources cited in the articles analysed. The type of sources cited and how often each was mentioned will be evaluated in this study.

### **5.7.4 PLACEMENT /PROMINENCE OF ARTICLES:**

Another level of portrayal is the prominence of the story which is measured by the placement of the article in the newspaper (Ohaja, 2003). One of the determinants of the value of framing a news story shows how vital an article is (Myhre et al., 2002; Tresch, 2009).

### **5.7.5 REPRESENTATIONAL DEMOCRACY:**

There are various factors of representative democracy as discussed in chapter two. Six of these are pivotal and occur regularly during the transition process of democracy in any country. These are the election, election education, voters' registration, voting agency, political parties, and electorates' reactions after the election.

### **5.7.6 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:**

The term comprises every aspect of government activity reflected in any nation-state and on which newspapers report (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004). These were also issues that reflect the relationship between the citizens or the electorate, the government and government representative. They contain significant themes for the reporting on government activities aside issues relating to the election.

### **5.7.7 MEDIA ROLES:**

The theme refers to the adopted roles, in this study, the newspapers are expected to perform. Chapter 4 of the thesis discusses the anticipated role exhaustively from the

media in any democracy which is the monitorial, facilitative, and collaborative and the radical functions (Christians et al., 2009).

## **5.8 CONTENT CATEGORIES SUBSETS, AND ABBREVIATIONS**

The content categories listed above divide further into subsets. These subsets examine the smaller measurable elements within the levels of the commercialisation of the newspapers. Chapter six and seven of the thesis discuss each type of article and the commercialisation effects on one another. Abbreviations are formed and used for the various units of analysis to be able to accommodate them in the computation analysis software.

### **5.8.1 TYPES OF ARTICLES:**

- (a) News stories
- (b) Features
- (c) Letters to the editor
- (d) Opinion articles
- (e) Editorials
- (f) Photo news
- (g) Supplements
- (h) Cartoons
- (i) Advertisements
- (j) Advertorial

### **5.8.2 LENGTH OF THE ARTICLES**

The **length of stories** uses four delineations which are:

- (a) Up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  for a quarter page of a tabloid paper,
- (b) Up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  which represents half of a tabloid page in the newspaper,
- (c) Up to  $\frac{3}{4}$ , represents three-quarters of the page,
- (d) Up to 1 depicts a full page
- (e) Above 1 for an article that is more than one full page.

### **5.8.3 SOURCES CITED IN THE ARTICLES:**

The researcher came up with eight different sources that are likely to be quoted given the nature and the theme of this research. These are:

- (a) Citizens
- (b) Corporate organisation,
- (c) Government representative,
- (d) International organisation,

- (e) News agency
- (f) Political party,
- (g) Politician
- (h) Voting agency.

#### **5.8.4 PLACEMENT/POSITION ARTICLES:**

There are five indications of prominence in a newspaper. These are

- (a) Front page placement which means these are stories with the highest prominence
- (b) Back page placement for the second level of prominence,
- (c) Centre page for the third degree of prominence (mostly in Nigerian newspapers).
- (d) Inside page which is often more than the other placements is the fourth degree of prominence,
- (e) The side-lines, with the least prominence.

#### **5.8.5 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY:**

The articles that focus on representative democracy were analysed under seven subsets, which are, with shortened forms:

- (a) Elections (ELT): The newspaper items focusing on the election were categorised here. The researcher measured the duration of the coverage before the election, during and after.
- (b) Election Education (EL EDUC):
- (c) Electorate reactions to the election (EOU),
- (d) Political parties (PPA),
- (e) Voting agency (VOA),
- (f) Voters' registration (VRG).

#### **5.8.6 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

This category generated 21 subsets. These were derived from an overview of issues generated by the newspaper during the period studied.

- (a) Agriculture (AGRIC),
- (b) Bureaucratic Quality (BQU),
- (c) Building and Reconstruction (BUID&RECON),
- (d) Corruption and Crime (CORP/CRIME),
- (e) Economics and Finance (ECONS/FIN),

- (f) Education (EDUC),
- (g) Environment (ENVIR),
- (h) Government appointment (GAP),
- (I) Government ministries or civil service (GTMC),
- (j) Health,
- (k) Insurgency and security (INSG/SECU)
- (l) International Politics (INT POLS)
- (m) Inauguration (INAUG)
- (n) Manufacturing and Technology (MAN. /TECH),
- (O) Military and Police (MIL/PLCE),
- (p) Power, electricity/petroleum (PEP)
- (Q) The rule of law (ROL)
- (r) Social \entertainment\ Culture(S/E/C),
- (s) Transportation and road construction (TRANS/RC)
- (t) Welfare/unemployment (WEL/UNEMP)

#### **5.8.7 MEDIA ROLES:**

There are four subsets examined here as discussed earlier.

- (a) Monitorial
- (b) Facilitative
- (c) Collaborative
- (d) Radical

#### **5.9 CODE SHEETS FOR CONTENT CATEGORIES.**

The term code sheets “delineates the content categories that will guide the researcher in collecting data for his research” (Ohaja, 2003,p.97). Due to the high number of texts used in this study, the researcher decided to design a code sheet that enables easy analysis of the selected newspaper articles. The challenges of coming up with a single document used as an analysis instrument were made simpler using an excel spreadsheet with an interactive extension. For this study, a thematic code sheet was created to generate data (Boesman et al., 2017). A manually constructed code sheet was first designed, and then imported into the Excel spreadsheet with some scripting that made it adaptable for extracting data from the content analysis (See Figure 5.1 & 5.2). The worksheet also helped to monitor the trend of the study regarding all the variables used like days, months, newspapers, country, types of articles and others (See Figure 5.3).



**FIGURE 5.1 CODE SHEET FOR ANALYSIS OF EACH ARTICLE**

The screenshot shows an Excel spreadsheet titled "newspaper spreadsheet - Excel" with a user profile "Morenike Oladeinde". The spreadsheet has columns for Article Number, Newspaper, Date, Story Type, Length, Position, Source, Political Activities, and Representative Democracy. A modal form titled "Add Article" is open, allowing data entry. The form includes dropdown menus for Newspaper (NZA001), Date (13/06/2014), Story Type, Length, Position, and Source. It also features two columns of checkboxes for Political Activities (ELT, EED, VRG, POP, VOA, PPA, ECC, PFR, OTH) and Representative Democracy (EOU, ING, GAP, ROL, BQU, GPL, COP, OTH). An "Add Article" button is located at the bottom of the form.

Article Number	Newspaper	Date	Story Type	Length	Position	Source	Political Activities	Representative Democracy
1	NZA001	13/06/2014	Opinion Article				<input type="checkbox"/> ELT <input type="checkbox"/> EED <input type="checkbox"/> VRG <input type="checkbox"/> POP <input type="checkbox"/> VOA <input type="checkbox"/> PPA <input type="checkbox"/> ECC <input type="checkbox"/> PFR <input type="checkbox"/> OTH	<input type="checkbox"/> EOU <input type="checkbox"/> ING <input type="checkbox"/> GAP <input type="checkbox"/> ROL <input type="checkbox"/> BQU <input type="checkbox"/> GPL <input type="checkbox"/> COP <input type="checkbox"/> OTH

**FIGURE 5.2 DROP DOWN LISTS WITH ABBREVIATED CODES OF EACH LEVEL OF ANALYSIS USED FOR DATA COLLECTION.**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
StoryType	Length	Position	Source	PoliticalActivities	RepresentativeDemocrac	Newspaper	Dates	
Features	up to 1/4 page	Sidelines	News agency	AGRIC	ELT	NZA001	13/06/2014	
Editorials	up to 1/2 page	Back	Public	BQU	EL EDUC	NZA002	14/06/2014	
Newstories	up to 3/4 page	Centre	Politicians	BUID/RECON	ERE	NZA003	15/06/2014	
Supplements	up to 1 page	Inside	Govt Rep	CORPP/CRIME	PPA	NZA004	16/06/2014	
Opinion Articles	Above 1 page	Sidelines	Unknown	ECOMS/FIN	VOA	NZA005	17/06/2014	
Letters to the Editor				ENVIR	VRG	NZA006	18/06/2014	
Photo News				EDUC		NZA007	19/06/2014	
Advertorials				GAP		NZA008	20/06/2014	
Advertisements				GTMC		NZA009	21/06/2014	
Cartoons				HEALTH		NZA010	22/06/2014	
				INSG/SECU		NZA011	23/06/2014	
				INT POLS		NZA012	24/06/2014	
				MAN/TECH		NZA013	25/06/2014	
				MIL/PLCE		NZA014	26/06/2014	
				PEP		NZA015	27/06/2014	
				ROL		NZA016	28/06/2014	
				S/E/C		NZA017	29/06/2014	
				TRANS/RC		NZA018	30/06/2014	
				WEL/ UEMP		NZA019	1/07/2014	
				INAUG		NZA020	2/07/2014	
						NZA021	3/07/2014	
						NZA022	4/07/2014	
						NZA023	5/07/2014	
						NZA024	6/07/2014	
						NZA025	7/07/2014	
						NZA026	8/07/2014	

Articles DropDownLists Political Activities Representative Democracy



FIGURE 5.3 SPREADSHEET FOR DATA ANALYSIS

M11												
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
Article #	Newspaper	Country	Date	Story Type	Length	Position	Source	Media Role	Representative	Political Activ	Political Activities (Representative)	
14163	NZB010	New Zealand	25/06/2014	Features	up to 1/2 page	Inside	News agency	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14181	NZB013	New Zealand	28/06/2014	Opinion Articles	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14197	NZB013	New Zealand	28/06/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Inside	Govt Rep	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14262	NZB019	New Zealand	4/07/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14275	NZB019	New Zealand	4/07/2014	Newstories	up to 1/2 page	Inside	Corporate O	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14300	NZB022	New Zealand	7/07/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14346	NZB025	New Zealand	10/07/2014	Opinion Articles	up to 1/2 page	Inside	News agency	Collaborate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14514	NZB043	New Zealand	28/07/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14575	NZB052	New Zealand	6/08/2014	Newstories	up to 1/2 page	Front	Citizens	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14595	NZB052	New Zealand	6/08/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14622	NZB052	New Zealand	9/08/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Sidelines	Govt Rep	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14625	NZB052	New Zealand	9/08/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Inside	International	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14638	NZB052	New Zealand	9/08/2014	Opinion Articles	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14649	NZB052	New Zealand	12/08/2014	Newstories	up to 3/4 page	Inside	Corporate O	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14660	NZB052	New Zealand	12/08/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14678	NZB052	New Zealand	12/08/2014	Opinion Articles	up to 1/2 page	Inside	News agency	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14776	NZB067	New Zealand	21/08/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Inside	Govt Rep	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14853	NZB076	New Zealand	30/08/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14980	NZB088	New Zealand	11/09/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
14989	NZB088	New Zealand	11/09/2014	Opinion Articles	up to 1/2 page	Inside	News agency	Collaborate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
15019	NZB091	New Zealand	14/09/2014	Letters to the Editors	up to 1/4	Inside	Citizens	Facilitate	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	
15054	NZB094	New Zealand	17/09/2014	Newstories	up to 1/4	Inside	Govt Rep	Monitor	Missing Value	Agriculture	AGRIC	



Another derivation for the content categories was formed from the description of how the manifest content, which are newspaper articles in this research, can be measured or analysed. The measurement was done by counting the frequency and regularity, which refers to the number of times the issues appeared in the publication. The study, therefore, examines how often each of the sub-categories of analysis under the content categories occur. The items were counted and represented with simple percentiles (n=100%) (Ohaja, 2003).

#### **5.10 POPULATION**

For the content analysis, the population for this study is the number of all the commercialised newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria. According to Press Audit (2017), there are nineteen daily newspapers in New Zealand. The newspapers consist of both national and regional newspapers, three of which are national in direction. In the Nigerian Press council inventory, there are forty-four daily newspapers, twenty of which are national in orientation. The structure of the papers must be commercialised either as a form of privately owned or a conglomerate. The population structure means that government-owned newspapers do not qualify for this study. In the case of the six newspapers that were selected, the ownership structure has been found to be commercial and private in Nigeria and commercial and a conglomerate in New Zealand.

#### **5.11 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

For social scientific (mainly quantitative) researchers, a population is usually too large to analyse or study. Therefore, a sampling technique is used to come up with sample size. The purpose of sampling is to create an actual sample that best represents the population so one can generalise about the population from the sample. The generalisations are inferences about the behaviour of the population one makes from studying the sample (often usually statistical tools) (Croucher et al., 2014).

For this quantitative content analysis, the non-random sampling technique was used to generate the newspaper studied. The purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the newspapers. This identified specific qualities which the sample is expected to have. The conditions used were:

**(a) Broad reach and national publication:**

The criteria mean the newspaper must have a reach to all the regions of the country under study. In New Zealand, therefore, three newspapers fall within this category. In Nigeria, twenty newspapers are within this category.

(b) The second quality considered is **the size of circulation**. In deciding on the circulation figures, the researcher opted for selected newspapers with the highest distribution in each country. In New Zealand media according to the Press Audit results (2017) for the period from March 2016-March 2017, the average figure for Newspapers in New Zealand that are above 25, 000 are:

**TABLE 5.2 SHOWING THE AVERAGE OF NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION FOR FOUR REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS IN NEW ZEALAND.**

Newspapers	Average Figures	STATUS
New Zealand Herald	126,080	Broad reach
The press	54,118	Broad reach
Dominion Post	53,854	Broad reach
Otago Daily Times	33,910	Broad reach

Source of the Data: “Press audit Results” New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulations Retrieved on 26<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

(c) These newspapers have the characteristics of being called **Daily Newspapers** if they are produced for at least five days of the week.

Among the 20 selected national newspapers in Nigeria, five are within the circulation figures of above 50,000.

**TABLE 5.3 SHOWING THE AVERAGE CIRCULATION FIGURES OF NEWSPAPERS**

Newspapers	Average Figures	STATUS
The Guardian	180,000	National
The Daily Sun	140,000	National
The Punch	85,000	National
This day	100,000	National
The Nation	70,000	National

Source: (Abiodun, 2018)

The convenience sample technique was therefore used for the selection of 2 newspapers from New Zealand which was available on the microfilm in the University of Canterbury Library. From Nigeria, three newspapers were selected. These papers were available at the Justice, development, and Peace Commission (JDPC) library (<http://www.jdpcijebuode.org/>). Moreover, the library is situated in a non-conflict area in the Western part of the country.

### 5.12 SAMPLE SIZE

The selected newspapers are chosen using the convenience sampling technique for the analysis. The duration of this study identifies from 100 days before the day of the election in each country and 100 days after, which gives a total of 200 days. The days count back in a calendar format. For example, New Zealand's national election was on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 2014. The 100th day before that date was, therefore, the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 2014. A simple random sampling technique was used to select the sample size from the calendar 200 days which generated a sample size of 67 days (Cochran, 2007; Kothari, 2004). An interval of two days was used in selecting the sample size so that all the days will equal chances of being chosen. The 200 days represented the period before, during and after the election.

**TABLES 5.4 SHOWING PATTERN OF SAMPLE SIZE FOR NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS.**

	Dates	Days	Samples
1	16/06/2014	Monday	***
2	17/06/2014	Tuesday	
3	18/06/2014	Wednesday	
4	19/06/2014	Thursday	***
5	20/06/2014	Friday	
6	21/06/2014	Saturday	
7	22/06/2014	Sunday	***
8	23/06/2014	Monday	
9	24/06/2014	Tuesday	
10	25/06/2014	Wednesday	***
11	26/06/2014	Thursday	
12	27/06/2014	Friday	

13	28/06/2014	Saturday	***
14	29/06/2014	Sunday	
15	30/06/2014	Monday	
16	1/07/2014	Tuesday	***
17	2/07/2014	Wednesday	
18	3/07/2014	Thursday	
19	4/07/2014	Friday	***
20	5/07/2014	Saturday	
21	6/07/2014	Sunday	
22	7/07/2014	Monday	***
23	8/07/2014	Tuesday	
24	9/07/2014	Wednesday	
25	10/07/2014	Thursday	***
26	11/07/2014	Friday	
27	12/07/2014	Saturday	
28	13/07/2014	Sunday	***
29	14/07/2014	Monday	
30	15/07/2014	Tuesday	
31	16/07/2014	Wednesday	***

This same rule applied to Nigerian newspapers sample size. The date of the Presidential election in Nigeria was the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 2015. The 100<sup>th</sup> day before this date was the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 2014. This sample also generated a sample size of 67 publications. The sample also represented the duration before and after the election.

**TABLES 5.5 SHOWING PATTERN OF SAMPLE SIZE FOR NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS**

	Dates		Days	Samples
1	19/12/2014		Saturday	***
2	20/12/2014		Sunday	
3	21/12/2014		Monday	
4	22/12/2014		Tuesday	***
5	23/12/2014		Wednesday	
6	24/12/2014		Thursday	
7	25/12/2014		Friday	***
8	26/12/2014		Saturday	
9	27/12/2014		Sunday	
10	28/12/2014		Monday	***
11	29/12/2014		Tuesday	
12	30/12/2014		Wednesday	
13	31/12/2014		Thursday	***
14	1/01/2015		Friday	
15	2/01/2015		Saturday	
16	3/01/2015		Sunday	***
17	4/01/2015		Monday	
18	5/01/2015		Tuesday	
19	6/01/2015		Wednesday	***
20	7/01/2015		Thursday	



21	8/01/2015		Friday	
22	9/01/2015		Saturday	***
23	10/01/2015		Sunday	
24	11/01/2015		Monday	
25	12/01/2015		Tuesday	***
26	13/01/2015		Wednesday	
27	14/01/2015		Thursday	
28	15/01/2015		Friday	***
29	16/01/2015		Saturday	
30	17/01/2015		Sunday	
31	18/01/2015		Monday	***

### 5.13 RESULTANT DATA SAMPLE.

This sampling approach resulted in a sample for each country, as follows.

**TABLE 5.6 SHOWING THE STATISTICS OF THE ANALYSED NEWSPAPERS ARTICLES.**

**N =18,491**

Country	No of Newspapers	No of articles	Duration and populations	Total nos. of days sampled.
New Zealand	2 Newspapers	4350	16 <sup>th</sup> June-31 <sup>st</sup> Dec 2014.	67
Nigeria	3 Newspapers	14141	19 <sup>th</sup> Dec. 2014-6 <sup>th</sup> July 2015.	67
	5 Newspapers	18,491	100 days each	134

The above table shows the total number of newspaper items generated from the analysis conducted in both Nigeria and New Zealand. As discussed earlier two papers were analysed in New Zealand with an output of 4,350. Each of the newspapers represent the dominant parts of the country which are the North and South. NZA represents the Northern region while NZB represents the southern region. Three newspapers analysed, resulted in 14,141 items from the Nigerian media. These are all national newspapers circulated in all the 36 states and the federal capital territory in the country and were also available.

**TABLE 5.7 SHOWING ITEMS FROM EACH NEWSPAPER IN EACH COUNTRY.**

New Zealand	NZA	NZB	Nil	TOTAL
	2,382	1,968	0	4,350
Nigeria	NGA	NGB	NGC	
	7,453	2,561	4,127	14,141

The above table indicates the number of items analysed from each newspaper from each country. The code NZA was used to refer to the first newspaper examined which made a total of 2,382, while the second newspaper generated 1,968. New Zealand newspapers have similar content structure, pagination, and storyline. There is therefore not much difference in the number of the items.

Nigerian newspaper sample is made up of 3 different newspapers. The first one with the codename NGA has a total of 7,453 items. The second one code-named NGB has a total of 2,561 while the third newspaper, NGC generated a total of 4,127 items. The NGA newspaper is the most voluminous newspaper among the three newspapers analysed and even when compared to other publications. It is almost ninety pages in size during the election and about 65-70 pages at other times. It consists of hard-core political news. Overall, all the three Nigerian newspapers when compared to New Zealand newspapers were focused on political news, in general, all through the period studied more than their New Zealand counterpart.

#### **5.14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PSEUDONYMS.**

The research procedure for field study at the University of Canterbury requires an approval and assessment by the Human ethics committee the thesis subjected to this requirement. There were concerns raised about how the researcher will handle information on unethical or illegal behaviour monetary or otherwise which may affect political news portrayal. The suggestion was the use of pseudonyms for the newspapers analysed and the journalists and editors interviewed.

The researcher assigns the codes NZA and NZB. NZ stands for New Zealand while the letters of the alphabet A and B are the indexed names for the newspapers sample. Nigerian newspapers were also coded in the same way NGA, NGB, and NGC. NG stands for Nigeria while A; B C & D for the newspapers.

#### **5.15 PILOT STUDY**

The pilot study was carried out by the researcher and another coder before embarking on the full-length analysis. The study enabled the researcher to identify some loopholes in the initially designed code sheet and adjust it to make it more suitable for the field trip.

##### **5.15.1 PILOT STUDY DISCOVERIES.**

(a) The development of the software was useful in tracking the coding of the articles effectively. The pilot study reveals the challenge of not being able to measure the articles in the newspapers on each day and month analysed, accurately. The reason is that the researcher used a crude method of tallying, which was difficult, time-consuming and cumbersome to measure. There was also the possibility of mixing up the articles. This problem was presented to the computer unit of the University of Canterbury. The unit in conjunction with the Digital Arts and Humanities unit created software that was able to resolve these challenges.

The software is an Excel-based program which enables the two coders to capture the content categories and their subsets by clicking the appropriate column for each article analysed. It automatically submits the data into a pool of spreadsheet. It was later used to generate tables and charts by the researcher.

(b) Getting used to using the microfilm, which was tedious, and time-consuming but became adjustable.

(c) The content categories and their units of analysis: These were also adjusted. The units under representative democracy and Government political activities were adjusted to reflect the actual news within the period examined both Nigeria and New Zealand.

#### **5.16 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND INTERCODER RELIABILITY.**

There are two essential measures needed in content analysis to ensure consistency of data and replicability of the findings. These are known as reliability and validity testing. Validity in content analysis involves the development of an excellent coding scheme whether it be face, predictive or construct. It also shows the extent that variation in results reflect in the variation of data (Krippendorff, 1980; Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Coding schemes are used in the content analysis to interpret theories on which the study based.

This study had identified some theories discussed in chapters three and four of the thesis. Also based on the historical reviews undertaken, specific codes were identified to be relevant to the examination of the research questions.

Specifically, face validity was attempted in this study. It is the extent “to which the coding system is logically consistent, and the categories clearly defined” (Folger et al., 1984, p.137). It enables the research to be evaluated regarding how well the concepts in the theories on literature were operationalised.

The test for face validity was evaluated by the researcher using pilot testing to measure the validity of the coding schemes. The researcher sampled days from the sample size and coded these. The result allowed the researcher and the second coder to input the various levels of the analysis of each newspaper item under each of the content categories and ensure that each category mutually exclusive.

The pilot study revealed the need to adjust the numbers of the content categories to reflect the actual political news contents of New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers. The process was able to validate the coding system used in the content analysis for this study.

The second step was the reliability test. Reliability is the extent to which measurement error is absent from the data, or the measurement procedures yield the same results on repeated trials (Nunnally, 1978; Carmines & Zeller 1979 in Neuendorf, 2010, p.21). It is

also the extent to which data can be trusted to represent the phenomena of interest rather than false ones (Krippendorff, 2009).

Two coders were used in the process of the content analysis of this work. The intercoder reliability test is therefore useful for this study. It is also called intercoder agreement, or inter rater agreement (Tinsley & Weiss, 2000).

Intercoder reliability assesses the consistency among human ratters involved in a content analysis of messages. Such human coding reliability is paramount (Neuendorf, 2002). If a content analytic measure is dependent upon the skills of an individual, the investigation has not met the standards of scientific inquiry.

Intercoder reliability is the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artefact and reach the same conclusion (Lombard et al., 2002, p. 589).

The researcher employed a graduate of Education from the University of Ibadan as a second coder for the study. She is a versatile person in the use of computer and an above average student who finished with a second-class upper division credit from her degree. The topics, objectives and research questions of the thesis were explained to the coder. There was one week of training and familiarisation with the procedure of the analysis. Articles sampled from the newspapers used were analysed by her and the main researcher. The data from the two analysis were calculated using ReCal: Intercoder Reliability Calculation web service which offers multiple coefficients for nominal level data (Freelon, 2010).

ReCal2's (which is the option chosen when there are two coders) result page displays per cent agreement, Scott's  $\pi$ , Cohen's  $\kappa$  and Krippendorff's  $\alpha$ , number of agreements, number of disagreements, number of cases and number of decisions.

Cohen's  $\kappa$  is defined as the agreement that is expected exclusively from the base rate, and it is calculated by chance agreement (Hsu & Field, 2003). It uses the formula:

$$\kappa = \frac{P_A - P_c}{1 - P_c}$$

Where  $P_A$  is the proportion of units on which the raters agree.

$P_c$

is the proportion of units for which agreement expected by chance.

Scott's  $\pi$  (named after William A. Scott) is a statistic for measuring inter-rater reliability for nominal data in communication studies. It is also calculated like Cohen's based on the observed agreement expected by chance. But it differs from Cohen's which is more detailed because it assumes that annotators have the same distribution of responses (Craig, 1981; Krippendorff, 2004). The formula for Scott's  $\pi$  is:  $\pi = (P_o - P_e) / (1 - P_e)$

Krippendorff's  $\alpha$  allows for any number of coders, and it is designed to be used for variables at different levels of measurement from nominal to ratio. It also accounts for chance agreements, using the same assumption as Scott's  $\pi$  of equal marginal proportions for the coders. Its disadvantage is in the complexity of calculating interval and ratio level variables by hand (Lombard et al., 2002 p.592).

All the seven content categories were used in coding the articles analysed by each coder. But in measuring the intercoder reliability, where the two coders have to code the same sets of articles, only five of the content categories were used to calculate. The other two were not used because there was a limitation of time while the researcher was in Nigeria. Table 5.8 shows the different ranges of the calculation for the five categories used.

Two indices were used for the interpretation of the results is from table 5.8. The percentage agreement which is referred to as belonging to the liberal continuum. It is also easy to interpret because results with high percentage of 60 per cent to 99 per cent can be said to have a high agreement value between the coders (Krippendorff, 2009). The variables for the Intercoder reliability for the categories measured are 78.8, 83.3, 86.1, 88.9, and 90.9 per cent which indicates a high agreement between the two coders for the content analysis conducted.

**TABLE 5.8 SHOWS THE IMPLICATION OF THE RELIABILITY RESULTS**

Value of Kappa	Level of Agreement	% of Data that are Reliable
0-.20	None	0-4%
.21-.39	minimal	4-15%
.40-.59	Weak	15-35%
.60-.79	Moderate	35-63%
.80-.90	Strong	64-81%
Above 90	Almost Perfect	82-100%

The implication of the intercoder reliability table (McHugh, 2012).

The application of table 5.8 to the results from table 5.9 shows that there is the moderate level of the agreement the coding of media roles between the two coders of this content analysis with the result of 78.8%. The other four content categories which are Length=90.9%, Sources=86.1%, Position= 88.9%, Types of articles=83.3% have a strong level of agreement between the two coders.





**TABLE 5. 9 RECAL: INTERCODER RELIABILITY CALCULATION**

Content Categories	Per cent agreement	Scott's $\pi$	Cohen's $\kappa$	Krippendorff's $\alpha$	Number of agreements	Number of disagreements	Number of cases	Number of Decisions
Length	90.9%	0.904	0.904	0.905	30	3	33	66
Sources	86.1%	0.854	0.854	0.856	31	5	36	72
Position	88.9%	0.883	0.883	0.885	32	4	36	72
Types of articles	83.3%	0.825	0.826	0.828	30	6	36	72
Media roles	78.8%	0.749	0.749	0.753	26	7	33	66

### **5.17 THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW METHOD.**

Qualitative research engages with people in their natural environment and language (Kirk & Miller, 1986). The in-depth interview which is a tool in qualitative research is seen to be crucial in getting a view and an understanding of the process and challenges of political news and other issues related to the election year. The method enables the research:

to see the exact shape, nature, and essence of a phenomenon appearing in the experience, consciousness, state, or way of being of each participant or individual case, and then to obtain more general insights regarding the phenomenon when looking across cases (Witz et al. 2001, p. 2).

The voices and experiences of political editors and journalists, in general, are so relevant to this study that this method will help to bring it to the fore. The second and third research questions focus on the challenges, media practices, and the influence of training, incentives, inducements, sponsorships on newspaper coverage of the elections. Only the voices and experiences of the political journalists and editors can show these and the intervening variables that cause them. It further enables us to understand more and explains the reasons why an action took place or not. Furthermore, it “allows the interviewees to tell their stories in their way, react naturally and freely and express themselves fully” (Platt 2012, p. 12). Research questions 2 and 3 (See Table 5.1) were answered, using this method.

### **5.18 METHOD OF GATHERING INTERVIEW DATA**

The in-depth interview used in this study as both the method of answering the research questions and of gathering the data. Interviews were conducted among political editors and journalists in New Zealand and Nigeria.

#### **5.18.1 Open-ended Interview questions for Research questions three and four.**

1. For how long you have been reporting political news?
2. What is the procedure for political news gathering/editing?
3. What are the various sources of political news that are available?
4. How do you get access to government information?
5. Can you say the governments are quite open to giving out information or you get your information through the back door?
6. What is the process of editing political news?

7. Do you as the editor look at all the political news that come out to the paper every day?
8. What are the challenges in political news reporting specifically on your part writing and editing?
9. Do you have contact with all the political reporters?
10. To what extent do you give room to the governed?
11. Is there any form of interaction between you and the citizen for the election?
12. How effective was this method, did people send text and are they aware of the cell phone number to call?
13. Does your desk cover political, international news?
14. How do you access political news in those areas?
15. What were the challenges faced by the journalist in covering news during the election?
16. Despite these problems, what have been your gains, for you and your career as a political journalist?
17. Why do you have the set of people writing as the columnist?
18. Is it your house style not to have political journalists specifically but instead move journalists around the various beats?
19. How do you access interviews with political parties or government officials, and decide which to publish and which not to release?
20. Is that also what determines the space? For significant political news, what type of article would you put in it?
21. Do you receive the press release from political parties?
22. How do you verify them?
23. What sort of training do you have?
24. What form of funding and incentives are available for political reporters specifically you as a political editor? What is the crème of this position?
25. Are you saying that the political party we have don't carry out such corporate responsibility for the journalist like training, schooling, and orientation?

- 26.** Do the political parties try to influence people with any inducements or incentives?
- 27.** Are there inducements?
- 28.** How were you able to access political advert?
- 29.** Do you have an idea of a full-page political advert?
- 30.** Do you think there is a situation where an ordinary citizen puts up an advert?
- 31.** Is the rate for an advert different from an advertorial?
- 32.** What are the guidelines for carrying out political advert? Does your organisational have a stand on the kind of political advert to take?
- 33.** Are the newspapers columnists' employees and are they paid?
- 34.** Does politics sell?
- 35.** Are there specific guidelines on the advert you can take from political parties in a day, can a political party buy a paper for a day?
- 36.** During the last election, was the number of pages increase mostly because of the advert?
- 37.** During the last election, what can you say sold your paper more, is it the advert or the critical political news covered?
- 38.** Isn't the organisation through the editor in chief or the political editor able to check this?
- 39.** Are there no bodies, e.g., the press council that is meant to check journalist going out of tune? Perhaps in maligning other political parties? This should include an independent body that can query what the organisation has churned out.
- 40.** Do you have any regulation on the political advert? How effective are the press council regulating political adverts?
- 41.** What can you say about remuneration for political reporters?
- 42.** What keeps you afloat?

### **5.19 POPULATION, SAMPLING TECHNIQUES, THE SAMPLE SIZE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS**

The population of journalists for this study were all political journalists in New Zealand and Nigeria. But as it is impossible to interview every member of this population, some selection criteria were used to select the sample size. The selection criteria of these media houses and the journalists interviewed was based on postulation of purposive sampling technique which defines “as the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a non-random technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants” (Tongco 2007,p.1).

Some of these criteria were:

- (1) Individual journalists or editors, either male or female must be currently reporting, writing, or editing for the political columns of one of the selected newspapers included in this study. The criteria will be identified from the by-lines of articles that were content analysed and editors' functions in current political publications. By-line is the identification of the name of a reporter, who covers and writes a news story. In the newspaper, it is conventionally placed on top of news stories.
- (2) He or she must be officially employed by one of the papers from the organisations included in this study.
- (3) He or she must have had at the minimum, two years of work experience in political reporting for the newspaper (s).
- (4) He or she is expected to be a professionally trained and certified journalist in journalism or mass communication. Such qualification or certificate could be a Bachelor of Arts or Science (B.A/B.Sc.), Higher National Diploma (HND), National Diploma (ND), Diploma, Postgraduate Diploma, Advanced Diploma, ordinary certificate, etc.

Where criterion (3) is not available, the journalist or editor is selected based on criteria (1, 2, and 4).

The sample size used in this study was 10 (ten) reporters from four Nigerian newspapers, chosen for this study. Two political journalists and one editor were selected from three-newspaper houses, and one reporter selected in the fourth. Most of the journalists from Nigerian newspapers were willing to be interviewed, except for the fourth media house. The researcher made several attempts to contact respondents from the newspaper

organisation but was unsuccessful. None of the contacts in that press house was willing to grant the interview earlier.

However, there was success made with one journalist who agreed to a telephone interview. The interview gives a total number of ten participants from Nigerian political journalists and editors. The researcher aimed to interview four respondents from five media houses in Nigeria results in a total of 20. Upon arrival at the interview venue, most of the respondents were unavailable, and some had limited time as journalists operate a hectic schedule. Some were not willing at all.

In New Zealand, four journalists were interviewed from three different newspapers. From the first newspapers, two journalists were interviewed, one journalist from the second and the fourth from the third. There were challenges also in securing an appointment for interview with New Zealand journalists as many of those contacted declined. Out of numerous emails and calls to journalists, only these four granted the interviews.

The Human Ethics Committee (HEC) recommendations on confidentiality, which applied to the content analysis study also apply here. This means that pseudonyms were used for the selected journalists about their newspapers.

The breakdown is in the table below:

**TABLE 5.10 NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS INTERVIEWED**

<b>Newspaper code</b>	<b>No of Journalists</b>	<b>Journalist's codes</b>	<b>Years of Experience</b>	<b>Date Interviewed</b>
NGA	2	NGA2 NGA3	21 10	18 <sup>th</sup> May 2016.
NGB	1	NGB1	2	24 <sup>th</sup> May 2016.
NGC	2	NGC2 NGC3	12 10	19 <sup>th</sup> May 2016
NGD	2	NGD2 NGD3	14 10	18 <sup>th</sup> May 2016.
Total	7	7		

**TABLE 5.11 NIGERIAN EDITORS INTERVIEWED**

Newspaper code	No of Editors	Editor's codes	Years of Experience	Date interviewed
NGA	1	NGA1		18 <sup>th</sup> May 2016.
NGB	None	None	None	
NGC	1	NGC1		19 <sup>th</sup> May 2016
NGD	1	NGD1		18 <sup>th</sup> May 2016
Total	3	3		

**TABLE 5.12 NEW ZEALAND JOURNALISTS INTERVIEWED**

Newspaper code	No of Journalists	Journalist's codes	Years of Experience	Date interviewed
NZA	1	NZA2	30 years+	14 <sup>th</sup> March 2017
NZB	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
NZC	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Total	1			

**TABLE 5.13 NEW ZEALAND EDITORS INTERVIEWED**

Newspaper code	No of Editors	Editor's codes	Years of experience	Date interviewed
NZA	1	NZA1	20 years +	13 <sup>th</sup> March 2017.
NZB	1	NZB1	20 years +	13 <sup>th</sup> March 2017.
NZC	1	NZC1	20+	15 <sup>th</sup> March 2017
Total	3	3		

### **5.20 CHALLENGES OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW**

There were challenges encountered before being able to access New Zealand journalists. Most journalists were not open to interviews. The reluctance is assumed to be because of their busy schedules or the fear of being quoted. Therefore, the fact that there will be confidentiality of the identity of the respondents was a form of assurance, but the positive response regarding number is not encouraging. After several phone calls, emails to more than 12 journalists from four different media houses, only four granted the interview. Questions sometimes worded in a flexible way to each journalist interviewed. The flexibility was done without affecting the relatedness of the interview questions to the research questions each examines.

### **5.21 POWER RELATIONS AND THE DYNAMICS OF INTERVIEWING BETWEEN AN ESTABLISHED AND AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY.**

Power exists in a variety of modalities which it negotiates since it is not constant or inscribed (Smith, 2006). Power is 'only ever mediated as a relational effect of social interaction (Allen 2003, p.8). Craig (2004, p. vii) also asserts that "power relations occur within and across institutions and organisations, myriads acts of communication".

Certain significant features of power relations occur between an interviewer and interviewees regarded as 'elites' powerful', professionals due to their display of knowledge about the subject matter (Smith, 2006). Some of such are labelling, effect of the authoritative positions of the interviewees, reflexivity on the shifting dynamics of positionality (this involves making the interviewers positions are known and visible,



(playing dumb or not), gaining access, applying a collaborative approach to research, ethics and code of conduct (Brantlinger et al., 2005; Ekström & Lundell, 2011; Smith, 2006).

Smith (2006) advocated that in a qualitative interview in which the context of the participant's authority varied significantly between interviewees, the researcher can ascribe labels that are reflective of the context of the research. Therefore, the form of designation for describing the interviewees from New Zealand and Nigeria are journalists and editors of an established democracy and an emerging democracy.

The first difference in the interviews between the Nigerian and New Zealand journalists was in the way the interviewer gained access to the interviewees. The names of some journalists' and editors from Nigeria and New Zealand came up during the content analysis process. These names were used as the point of contact with the sources of the discovery of their names mentioned. The response in the two countries differed. The Nigerian journalists and editors were often excited to meet for a discussion. One factor responsible for such interest could be the thrill of interacting with a PhD student from a foreign country. None the less, even those with whom there were no previous appointments were open in their comments, forthcoming with responses to interview questions, and relaxed in their general disposition towards the interviews process.

On the other hand, New Zealand name search through the content analysis did not yield many positive responses. Almost all the journalists and editors contacted declined to grant an interview. One of the lecturers in the department helped with a form of networking and referred the researcher to one of the editors. The contact generated two interviewees while the other two came from the initial contacts. The interviewer had expected there would have been a greater show of interest.

The second dynamic of the interview process was the environment. In Nigeria, nine of the interviewees granted the interview at their newspapers' offices. This venue validates the interviews. More so, most respondents displayed skilfulness and consistency to the interviewer. Whereas the venue for New Zealand interviews were varied. One was in a respondent's home; the second agreed to meet at a public library, both of which gave a personal interaction outside their official roles. These two interviewees were also relaxed and provided as much information as required, and were quite passionate about the subjects. The third and fourth interviewee met in an alternative location although on the

same site with their offices. These venues for the interviews created a caution due to the environment which is the New Zealand government office. The interviewer was not sure about testing limits and kept strictly to the questions. Moreover, these respondents displayed an attitude of distance, vagueness, and caution even with the assurances that there will be no specific reference to names of individuals or the media organisations.

Another issue is the effect of the authoritative positions of the interviewees. In both countries, the editors and journalists displayed knowledge about the subject matter, and all showed a high level of confidence in their answers. The interviewer was never able to sway their views as they all stuck to their arguments with vivid illustrations. The only difference was that the Nigerian journalists and editors alongside two of New Zealand's gave away more examples than the other two who offered no additional insights than the questions asked.

On the whole, the fact that the interviewer is an 'insider looking in', into the Nigeria media system did not affect the process much. Overall, the power play role in Nigeria was more straightforward than anticipated and the one in New Zealand more difficult. The fact that New Zealand was a developed country with a flair for freedom of information initially gave such an expectation, but it turned out not to be so.

Also, the interviewer had similar leading questions based on the research questions for the study. The responses of the interviewees generated lists of interviews items used. Invariably, the interviewees from each country and media organisation shaped the tone and the length of the interview by the responses they give. Where they were open as in most cases in Nigeria, the interviewer pushed boundaries. But where the answers appear guarded, the interviewers kept to the script strictly and was satisfied with minimal responses.

The process of the in-depth interview provided the thesis with needed insights about commercialised newspapers practices and challenges in Nigerian and New Zealand. But the interviewer thinks that New Zealand journalists and editors might have warmed up more to one of their kind than they did to the interviewer. Perhaps, more respondents would have also been willing to engage with the interviewer on the subjects, under a different circumstance.

## **5. 22 THEMATIC DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The in-depth interview method was used by the researcher to examine research question two and three. The research questions were necessary due to a rising need for practice-based research in the field of journalism. This is because:

The 'worldview' and 'values' of journalism prioritise a public right to know, aspire to facilitation and protection of freedom and diversity in the public sphere, and demand the practice of its craft in an independent manner. It is these worldviews and values that define the quality and impact of journalistic practice (Vine et al., 2016,p.233).

Having used the method of In-depth Interviews to gather the qualitative data for the two research questions in the aspect of this study, the researcher decided to use the thematic technique for analysing these interviews. The thematic method in qualitative data analysis allows close attention to wording, "the wording of the statements, is relevant and also plays an important role in the preparation and presentation of results" (Kuckartz & McWhertor 2014, p.65).

The discussion of the interview responses to the research questions in this study will, therefore, be under different themes. The second and third research questions generated themes in resonance with the questions asked and the responses given.

Chapter six will discuss the content analysis data generated the New Zealand newspapers based on the seven levels of content categories and theories used in the thesis.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA REFLECTING LEVELS OF PORTRAYALS OF NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 2014 ELECTION.**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION.**

The chapter reports on the content analysis of New Zealand newspapers, which addresses research question one in the thesis. The literature reviews in chapter two to four discuss and describe seven content categories and their subsets analysed in this chapter.

#### **Research Question 1:**

What are the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy and political activities as reflected in the political columns of New Zealand commercialised newspapers?

### **6.2 STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF THE NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.**

Chapter five describes the use of the quantitative data for the newspapers selected (See Tables 5.6 & 5.7). The analysis of the articles is in the form of the percentile of the total to make for more straightforward description.

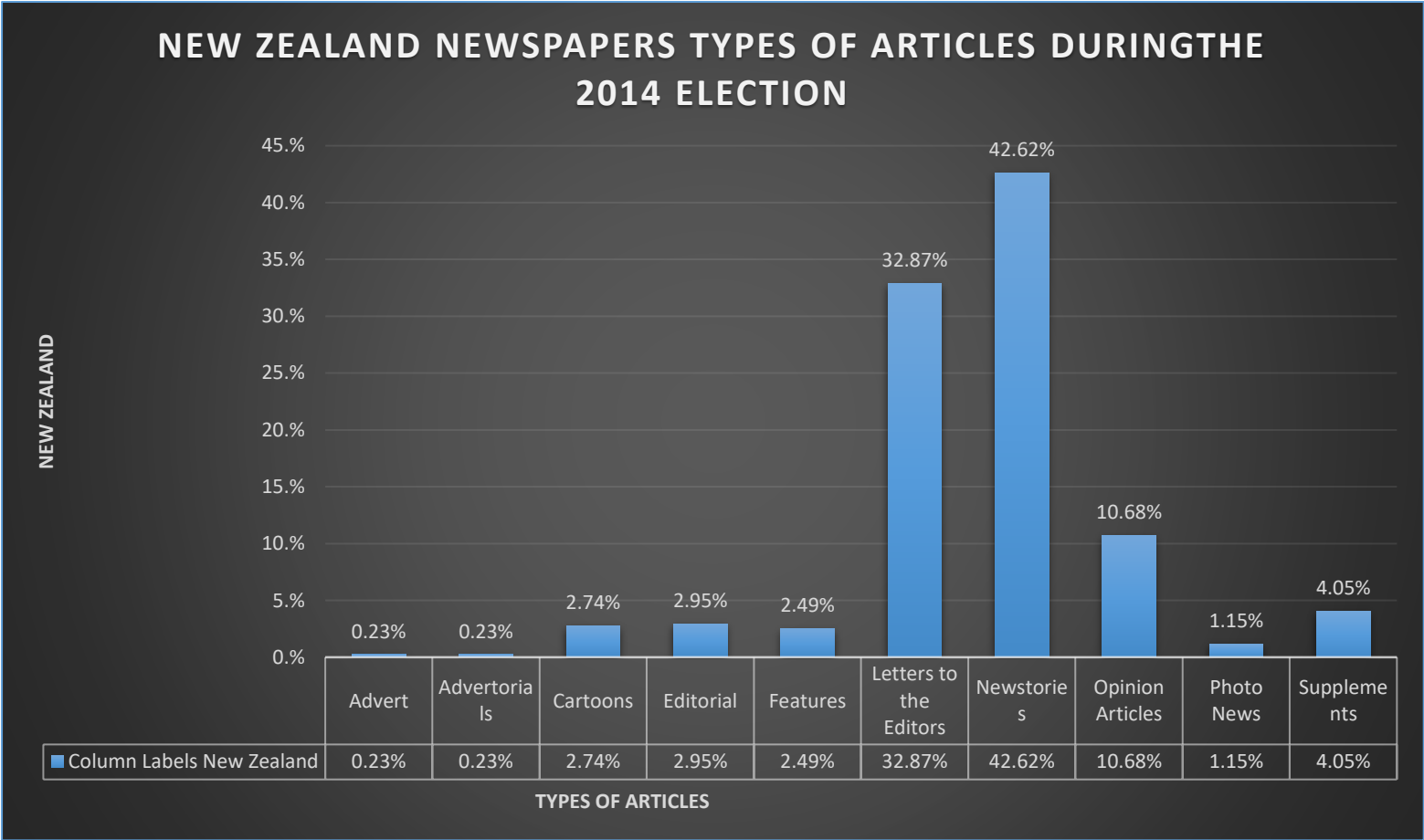
### **6.3 TYPES OF ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS.**

As discussed in Chapter five, one of the seven levels of portrayal examined under research question one is the type of articles used in New Zealand newspapers during the 2014 election.

**Table 6. 1 TYPES OF ARTICLES (NEW ZEALAND).**

Type of Articles New Zealand Newspapers	Types of articles in Numbers	Percentage of Total
News stories	1852	42.62%
Letters to the Editors	1428	32.87%
Opinion Articles	464	10.68%
Supplements	176	4.05%
Editorial	128	2.95%
Cartoons	119	2.74%
Features	108	2.49%
Photo News	50	1.15%
Advertisements	10	0.23%
Advertorials	10	0.23%
Total	4345	100.00%

FIGURE 6.1 TYPES OF ARTICLES (NEW ZEALAND).



**News stories** which is at **n=1852 42.62 per cent**, shows a strong indication that New Zealand newspapers' focus was predominantly on this type of articles. News stories performed a primary function of supplying information for the readers about the election which otherwise the electorate may not have access to (Carey, 2001). The predominance of news stories was also consistent throughout the six months of the election analysed. This structure of the news stories was the same in both newspapers NZA and NZB. News stories were used to introduce every landmark event relating to the political sphere in New Zealand, such as the building and reconstruction challenges after the 2010 and 2011 Christchurch earthquakes, the difficulties with transportation because of population exposure in Auckland and its central business district (CBD).

The traditional means of writing news stories is usually the inverted pyramid form. According to Ricketson (2016,p.507),

The imperative on speed in the news media, combined with the inverted pyramid form of news writing, have well-documented strengths, enabling important information to be communicated quickly and clearly.

But in the newspaper sample and following the British newspaper traditions that tend to shape New Zealand practice, they write in a range of styles from expository, to narratives and descriptive (Harrison, 2008). The news stories in New Zealand add human angle elements to the narration of the stories. Political journalists use a real-life human element to illustrate and discuss the government policy categorised under government political activities and representative democracy. For example, several news stories on building and reconstruction (12.89%) focused on some electorates in Christchurch who were yet to receive their post-earthquake benefits fully and have been unable to renovate their homes. In the same vein, Ricketson (2016,p.507) describes the advantage of the narrative form of writing these news stories as,

They also significantly enlarge public understanding of people, events, and issues of the day by exploring them in-depth, usually by taking a narrative approach in writing.

The writing is an alternative journalism term that shows the form of news story the New Zealand journalists write. It accords with a concept called "slow journalism" (Belt & South, 2016; Craig, 2016; Le Masurier, 2015; Ricketson, 2016). The concept idealises that:

To promote the values of slow journalism is **to care** about those who practice the craft and to recognize the value of what the practice provides, **to care** about how journalists interact with others, and it is motivated by the recognition that **care** is required in the practice as it explores, critiques and communicates what is happening in the world (Craig 2016, p. 462).

It shows that the New Zealand journalists do not only practice an in-depth form of reporting news stories in a narrative, explorative manner but also, apply 'care' a term also used under slow living (Parkins 2004; Parkins & Craig 2006; Pink 2007) slow food (Pietrykowski 2004) and later applied to slow journalism (Belt & South 2016; Le Masurier 2015). The form of journalism is "constructed as a deliberate subversion of the dominance of speed" which has the traits of "ethical consumption and sustainability" (Parkins 2004; Parkins & Craig 2006, p. 363). The analysis from New Zealand news stories reflect the practical portrayal of issues in a humane way with specific regards to the analysed reports on the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 and the aftermath effects on citizens. Despite the temptation and demand for a traditional mode of reporting news which emphasises speed, the media took an extra care to report from human angle perspectives. Citizens' real-life stories and difficulties were featured in the news stories.

Next in rank among the analysed types of articles from New Zealand newspapers are the **Letters to the editors, n=1428 which is at 32.87 per cent**. These were used to discuss politics during the 2014 New Zealand elections. Letters written on all the political subjects that arose during the period of the elections. The letters usually take up one full page on the weekday newspapers, and 1-2 pages on the Saturday and Sunday editions. The scale of publishing of letters to the editors by New Zealand newspapers reflects a business logic as well as political responsibility. The Managing Editor of the *San Francisco Bay* newspaper chain told Wahl-Jorgensen (2001,p.310) that,

For every letter, there are 100 readers. The letter writers say, 'did you see my letter in the paper today?' They do their own personal marketing on behalf of the newspaper. It allows each day's paper to go wider than yesterdays. So, letters to the editor improve circulation.

Each reader or contributor creates a sphere of discussion which invariably enriches democracy as well as generates more readers for the newspaper. The implication is that New Zealand newspapers supply significant opportunities for those numbers of



individuals among the electorates to express their views on the election and other issues without having to pay for space. The critical political theory of communication is in practice here as there is a conscious effort to balance the cultural contents of the newspapers with economic use (McQuail, 2010).

Another interesting dimension of describing this level of analysis, length of articles is to relate it to the letter to the editor, New Zealand newspapers have given 1426 citizens opportunities to express themselves (Table 6.6 above). Each unit of a letter to the editor analysed represent a voice among the readers of New Zealand newspapers. It is a notable discovery when viewed from the perspective that 134 newspapers editions sampled and examined, (Table 6.4) portrayed 1427 letters to the editors/voices /citizens. Despite the fact that the New Zealand newspapers work under a conglomerate structure, it is interesting to see consideration for the public good (as discussed in chapter four of the thesis) and public sphere model (Croteau & Hoynes 2006; Hamilton, 2004). This practice reflects accessibility for all citizens to use the media or newspapers and engage with others on issues of public interests, thereby giving a voice to ordinary citizens as opposed to political elites (Curran, 2002b). More so, it also fulfils the principles of mass media and mass communication. The media should allow its readers to communicate even with other unidentified audience (Kemp, 2013; Street, 2011).

The third in rank among the types of articles in the levels of analysis are the **Opinion articles** with a total of **n=464 which is at 10.68 per cent**. Opinion articles are expressions of value judgments by the news outlets, NZA and NZB, on issues in the political sphere of New Zealand. There also appears to be a consistent pattern among the writers noted to have written these opinion articles. The writers are mostly staff of the newspapers analysed, including some of the political editors interviewed in the research.

Wahl-Jorgensen (2004,p.59) argues that one reason for having experienced political journalist writing this type of article is,

They are the only place in the paper where journalists are authorised to express the opinion, often guided by the political leanings of the newspaper.

More importantly, they function as places of political power.

The partisan press was born of commercial necessity but was also centrally shaped by a recognition of the political power of opinion writing (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008,p.68).

New Zealand Press appears to be fulfilling their dual role as a commercial entity and a political institution. The media takes on their position as the fourth estate of the realm where she acts as a 'mediator in liberal' societies between the electorate and the government (Curran et al., 2009; Gingras, 2012; Mazzoleni, 1999).

Other coded forms of reporting and debate were written with specific characteristics are **supplements n= 176, which is at 4.05 per cent**. These were a combination of different genres of writings like 'NZ 2014' (countdown to the days to the election), 'Leaders unplugged', (where the newspapers pick a politician and give general information outside his or her political life). For example, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August 2014 in NZA Winston Peters featured as a successful fisherman. 'Pokometer' was a countdown to the Election Day (also in NZB).

Brett and Holmes (2008,p.190), argues that:

Supplements have both an editorial and a commercial function, and the commercial function may be on a macro or micro level, where macro implies general sales promotion and reader loyalty, and micro involves specific advertising revenue and niche reader appeal. The latter has become increasingly important as newspapers, which once dominated the media landscape, have had to work harder to attract audiences. It could be argued that the cornucopia of supplements shows that newspapers have learned from other media; it is certainly true that in appearance, intention, and content newspapers have gone through a dramatic transformation, abandoning to a certain degree their hard news rationale and adopting the ways of magazines and in particular the magazine creed, the greatest of which is 'give the readers what they want'.

During the 2014 election, the researcher observed that there were several supplements segments added to the newspapers in the forms of *NZ 2014*, *Leaders unplugged* and *Pokometer*. The additions aim to achieve both a commercial function for the newspapers. It also fulfils the editorial role of election education in a democracy (Kymlicka, 2001; Sanderson, 2011).

The fifth type of article in the order of ranking are the **editorials** with a total number of **n=128 which is at 2.95 per cent**. These are the expression of the views of the newspaper

about issues in the political sphere. During the period studied, most of the editorials in the newspapers focused on politics. Therefore, the total number of editorial analysed is almost equivalent to the total number of days examined in both newspapers.

**TABLE 6.2 NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS SAMPLE SIZE**

Newspapers	Numbers of days	Sample size
NZA	200	67
NZB	200	67
Total	400	134

The difference of 6 ( $134-128=6$ ) editorials shows that most of the editorials in the newspapers analysed during the period of the election in New Zealand reflects themes either related to Government political activities or representative democracy.

The figure above further confirms that “the editorial pages are central to a newspaper’s identity” (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008, p.67). Newspapers use editorials to speak both for and to their audience, thereby creating a distinctive voice, which would have been otherwise buried under the practice of objective journalism (Fowler, 1991). Santos (1994) writes in the same vein, “the most precise barometer of a newspaper’s position on political and social questions is assumed to reside on the editorial page – the heart, soul, and conscience of the newspaper” (Santos 1994, p. 94 in Franklin, 2008).

Furthermore,

In this capacity, the institutions of the press take the lead in establishing the dominant interpretative frameworks within which ongoing political events are made sense of (McNair, 2000).

Table 6.3 and 6.4 show the numbers of Government political activities and Representative democracy issues that editorials reflect.

**TABLE 6.3 EDITORIALS ON GOVT.POLS ACTS.**

GOVT POLS ACT.	NO OF EDITORIAL
AGRICULTURE	0
BUREAUCRACY	10
BUILDING & RECONSTRUCTION	19
CORRUPTION / CRIME	5
ECONOMICS / FINANCE	3
EDUCATION	5
ENVIRONMENT	5
GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS	0
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES& CORPORATIONS	5
HEALTH	4
INSURGENCY / SECURITY	3
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	17
MANUFACTURING / TECHNOLOGY	0
MILITARY / POLICE	1
POWER/ELECTRICITY/PETROLEUM	1
THE RULE OF LAW	2
SOCIAL / ENTERTAINMENT / CULTURE	4
TRANSPORT / ROAD CONSTRUCTION	9
WELFARE / UNEMPLOYMENT	13
OTHERS	22
Total	128

**TABLE 6.4 EDITORIALS ON REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

<b>REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY</b>	<b>Editorial</b>
Elections Education	2
Elections ELT	12
Electorate Reactions EOU	1
Political Parties PPA	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>

Another distinctive feature of New Zealand newspaper analysed show **Cartoons** often placed on the adjoining page to the editorial in each publication. These **cartoons**, the sixth most common type, appear to use an ironical means of communicating the opinions of the newspapers about specific political issues. They were (**n=119, 2.74 per cent**) used in New Zealand newspapers as a form of visual editorial expression. Most of the cartoons complement political issues precisely the topics discussed in the newspaper editorial editions. As with editorials (See Tables 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) the total numbers of cartoons used (n=119) has a close bearing on the sample size of the days (134) analysed and followed editorials closely. Editorials and cartoons could have based on varying subjects in society besides politics and the focus on politics suggest the strong editorial emphasis on the elections and related issues.

In the description of the portrait and roles of cartoons, Seymour-Ure (2008,p.75) states that,

*They are graphic in a primarily verbal medium. They exaggerate and distort in a type of publication which values accuracy. They assert opinions, generally critical and often emotionally, alongside editorials using reasoned argument. The word 'editorial' is the key to the presence, and the prominence, of political cartoons in the press. These complement the editorial role of interpretation and comment. They are editorials in pictures.*

The cartoons are an essential element in fostering political debate using a less rational form. It creates a relaxed yet pungent and satirical way of carrying a political discussion further and criticising both the government and the electorates.

There were **108 Features (2.49 per cent)** analysed. Although this forms a low proportion of the overall content, as it is one per day and an essential part of the more in-depth reporting of the election. The political editors and some other seasoned reporters

in the field of politics mostly write features and focus on issues discussed in the political sphere in the previous week, which gives room for researching and lots of backgrounds. The aim of this is to ensure that:

the choice of content and the presentational format is interlinked with a range of contextual factors that ensure the feature plays an integral part in the commercial viability of the newspaper (Niblock, 2008,p.46-47).

It further means that,

Features take the reader behind the headlines; they can amuse, infuriate, stimulate, and inform. They offer a contrast in tone and length to the news coverage at the front of the newspaper, allowing the reader space to reflect on issues of import (Niblock, 2008,p.46).

Table 6.8 which shows that a higher number of the features written are more within the range of up to one page/two pages and above. The in-depth information role and the commercial viability are factors for the continuous presence of features as articles in the newspapers especially about issues of political significance.

The analysis of Photographs otherwise referred to as **Photo News** asserts that these are forms of validation of the news stories. They are also relevant in political new reporting because “the popular press also uses photography to sell papers” (McCabe, 2008,p.184).

More so, in a democratic setting, pictures play up the prominence of a story or a political personality. With a total number of (**n=50 at 1.15 per cent**), photographs used by New Zealand newspapers in the 2014 election campaign in some instances, portray key political personalities like the Prime Minister, Members of Parliament, and others. Some also focus on political issues.

The distinguishing factors of these next two types of item, advertisements, and advertorials is that sponsors pay for their published spaces. In their long history, newspapers have always had a dual function: to inform and to advertise (Picard, 2004). The use of advertisement reflects that the newspapers are fulfilling one of its expected roles which is commercialisation (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Herman & McChesney 1997). Chapter four discusses extensively; the enormous influence advertisements could have on the political contents of newspapers.

Therefore, in political communication, it is important to prove how much space New Zealand newspapers devote to direct income from their publication. The total number of **advertisements, (n=10, 0.23 per cent) and Advertorials (n=10, 0.23 per cent)** together show this type of articles in New Zealand newspapers is not significant. In all the days analysed in the two newspapers in New Zealand, there were 10 in each which gives a total of 20. This low proportion is because the period under analysis in the thesis falls within the restriction period in which money spent on political advertisements and advertorials pegged at a certain amount. The data suggests that political parties therefore resorted to spending such funds on television advertising and more personalised and effective means of advertisements such as letters, handbills, billboards, and others rather than on the newspaper advertisements.

The different analysis of the other types of articles above proves that New Zealand newspapers exploited other means of generating money by indirectly increasing the readership of their newspapers. Their newspapers achieved this by publishing relevant types of articles that also reflects the various Government political activities and issues on representative democracy.

In conclusion, New Zealand newspapers merely prove the assertion of Meech (2008,p.225) that “no amount of advertising revenue can guarantee the survival of a newspaper in the long run if it does not secure a loyal readership”. The trick is it is the readers that are the bait for the advertisers (Croteau & Hoynes 2002).

#### **6.4 LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**

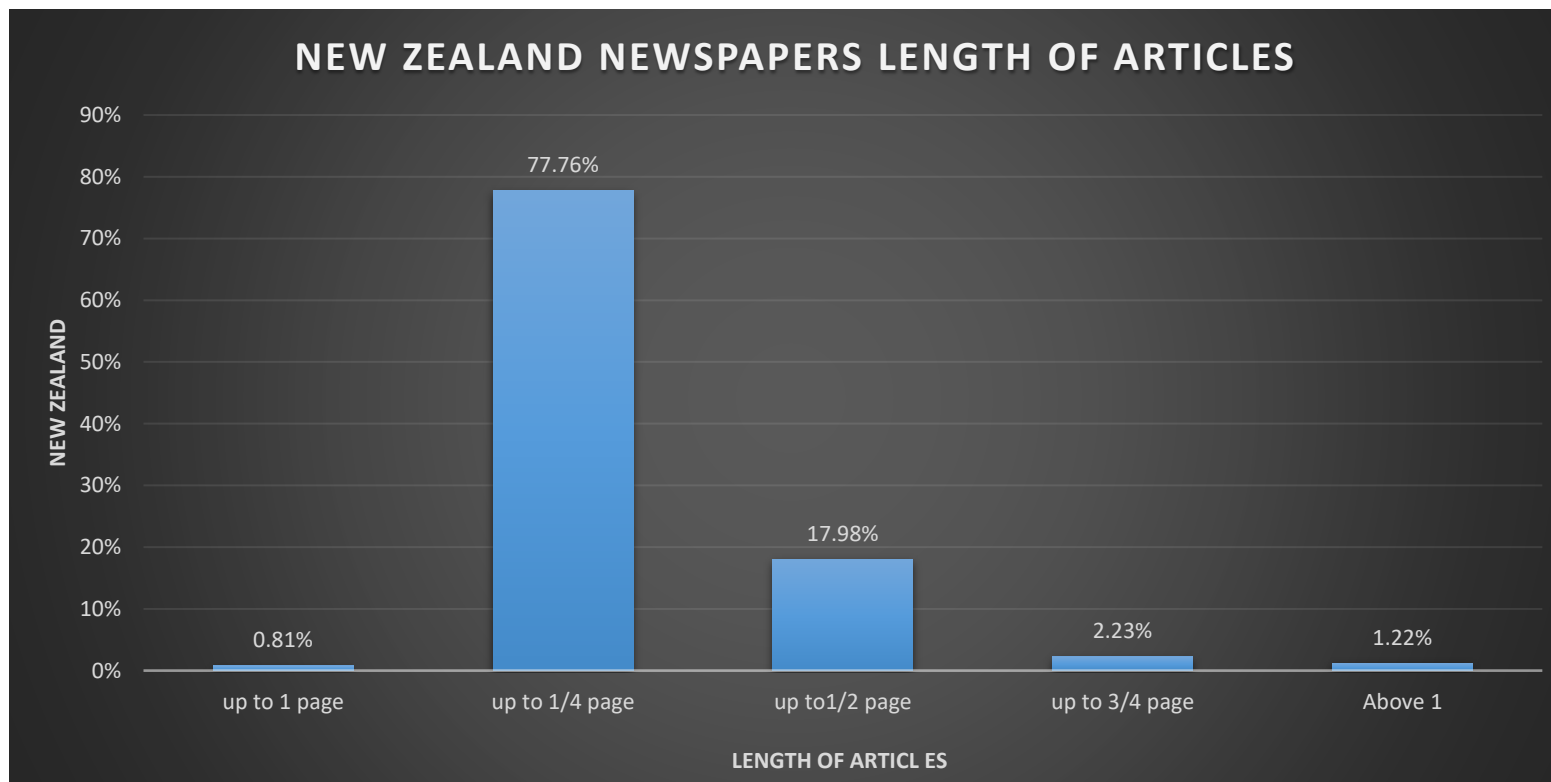
The length of articles in New Zealand newspapers shows the highest length of the various articles is within the range of up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  page while the other sizes have lower numbers.

**TABLE 6. 5 LENGTHS OF ARTICLES.**

Length	Percentage
Up to $\frac{1}{4}$ page	77.76%
Up to $\frac{1}{2}$ page	17.98%
Up to $\frac{3}{4}$ page	2.23%
Above 1page	1.22%
Up to 1 page	0.81%
Total	100.00%



**FIGURE 6.2 LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**



The significance of analysing the length of articles is to portray the depth of the coverage or writing. The length of the article is also significant to this study because space in a newspaper is like time to broadcast news. The commercial value of a newspaper article sometimes measures the amount of space given to it. "Time and space available being limited, journalists exercise a considerable degree of discretion on the topics covered and the tone of the reports" (Larcinese et al. 2011,p.1178). Its importance further describes as the 'quantity and quality of the media coverage' (Godefroidt et al. 2016,p.778).

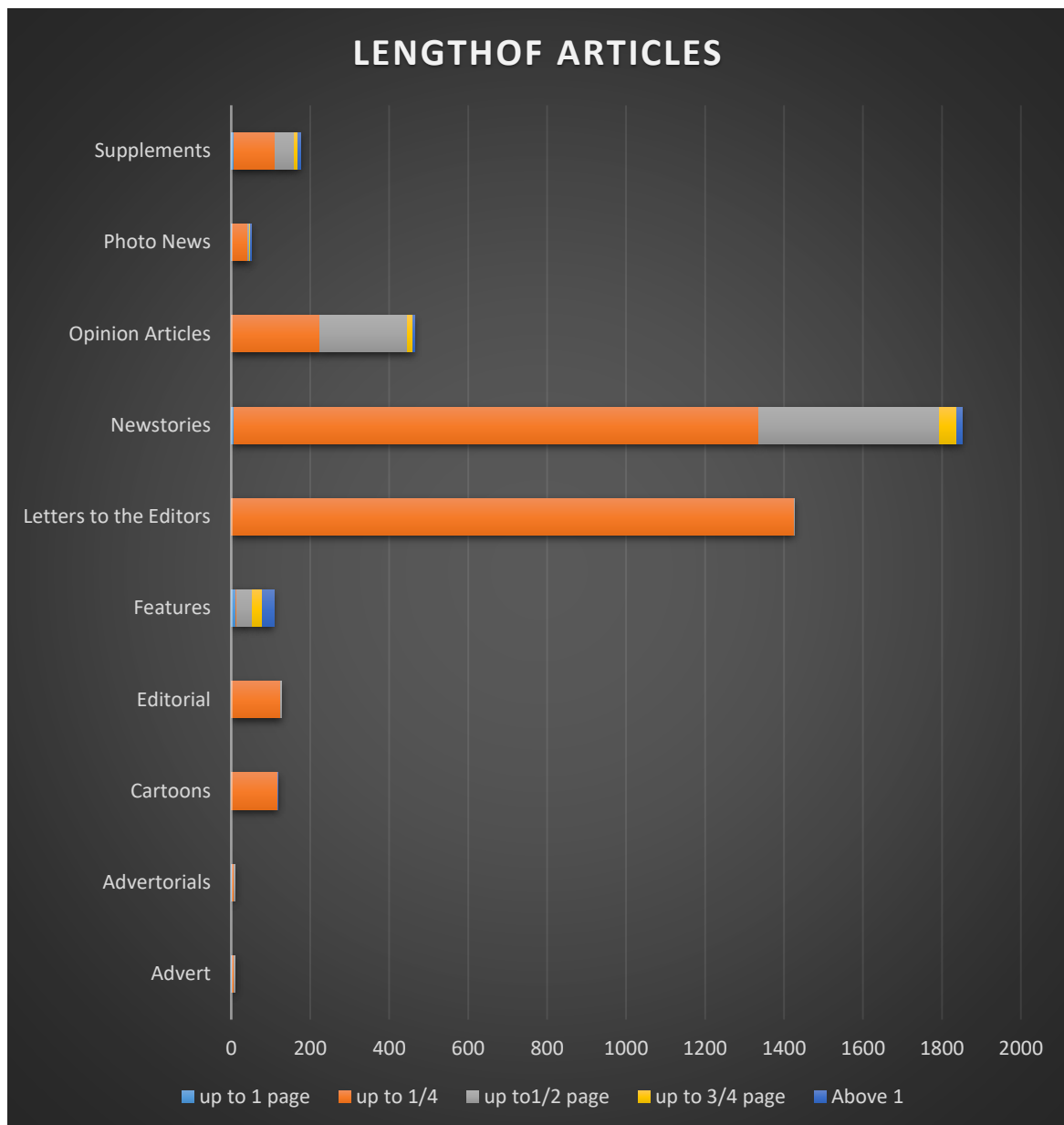
By far most articles were **1/4 of a page which is at 77.76 per cent, (Table 6.5 and Figure 5.2)**. The next most common is **up to 1/2 page 1 is at 7.98 per cent. The third is up to 3/4 page is at 2.23 per cent.** Longer articles were much less common which includes the **More than a full page is at 1.22 per cent, the least is the up to 1 page is 0.81 per cent.** The data shows that New Zealand newspapers mostly devote a quarter of a full page to the articles relating to the 2014 election.

The researcher was curious to examine what type of articles make up the highest range with the least length and the order of the length of each of the types of articles. **Table 6.6 and Figure 6.3 illustrate this makeup.** The information shows the commercial value about length compared with the democratic importance of the articles.

**TABLE 6.6 SHOWING NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS LENGTH OF THE TYPES OF ARTICLES.**

Articles	up to 1 page	up to 1/4	up to 1/2 page	up to 3/4 page	Above 1	Total
Advert	3	5	2			10
Advertorials	3	4	3			10
Cartoons		117	1		1	119
Editorial		126	2			128
Features	12	3	39	25	29	108
Letters to the Editors		1426	1			1427
Newstories	7	1330	456	45	13	1851
Opinion Articles		225	222	14	3	464
Photo News	2	39	6	2	1	50
Supplements	8	102	49	11	6	176
Total	35	3377	781	97	53	4343

**FIGURE 6.3 LENGTH OF THE TYPES OF ARTICLES**



The type of article with the highest range of (n=1426) but the shortest length of up to 1/4 is the Letters to the editors. This is a tradition of most newspapers as expressed by Richardson (2008) in Wahl-Jorgensen (2001,p.75) who says that the third rule of selecting letters to the editor is “brevity, which favours succinct letters over lengthy deliberation.” She also shows that this “bite-size debate approach expresses the desire to hear the opinions of as many persons as possible”. With such practice, the newspapers appear less susceptible to one of the flaws of the bourgeois public sphere which is systematic exclusion and encourages both quality and quantity of discourse (Calhoun, 1992).

Furthermore, it confirms the assertions of the liberal or pluralist tradition that society uses the press a means of engaging all its factions. It also encourages participation in democracy. The voices of the governed are not silenced in preference for that of the government (Curran, 2002b,2009; Leach et al., 2011)

Of the news stories, **is n=1330 (Table 6.6 and Figure 6.3)** fall within up to 1/4 length. The total for **¼ page** and the **½ page is n=1786** for the news stories. The description further shows that the newspapers actively supplied information in the form of event-based reporting during the election rather than a preponderance of longer analysis. Three-quarters of all the texts were letters to the editors and new stories of less than half a page, suggesting many short materials. The use of shorter length by New Zealand newspapers shows their focus appears to be on expanding the interest range of the articles published, thereby maximising their newspaper space.

## **6.5 POSITIONS OF ARTICLES.**

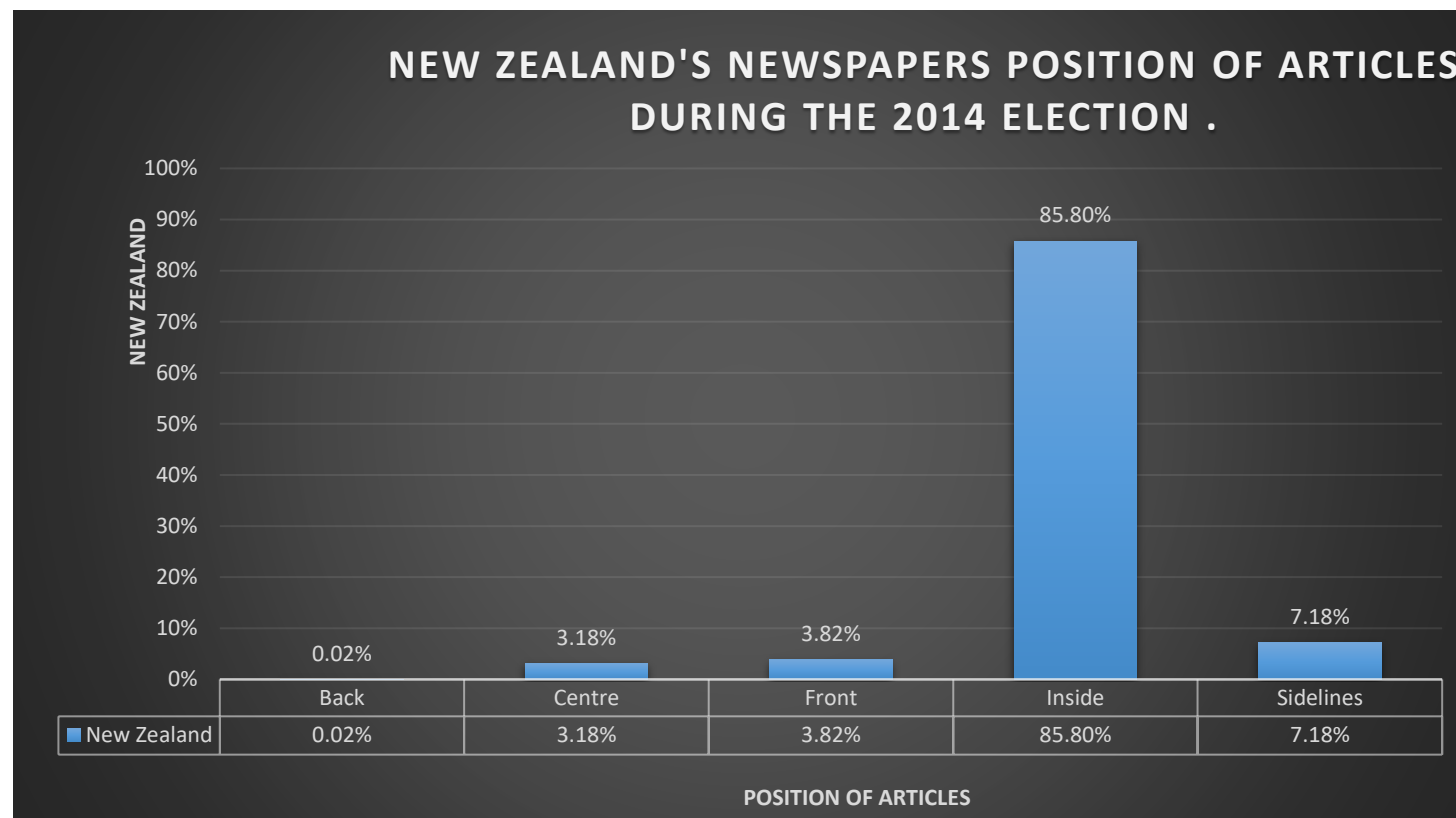
The significant relevance of positions in a newspaper is that it signals the prominence or importance of stories or the articles given by the media organisation. Tattersall (2008,p.202) writes about the significance of positioning that, “On the front page, you have to grab that attention in the first place. That means front page design, also becomes an exercise in selling. You want your newspaper to shout, ‘buy me’ at the potential reader; otherwise, all the care lavished on the rest of the paper is for nought”. This quotation emphasises the commercial importance of positioning in a newspaper. In this analysis,

five levels of positioning are the front page, back page, centre page, inside page and side-lines when listed in the order of their prominence.

**TABLE 6.7 POSITIONS OF ARTICLES.**

Count of Position	Column Labels
Row Labels	New Zealand
Back	0.02%
Centre	3.18%
Front	3.82%
Inside	85.80%
Side-lines	7.18%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 6. 4 SHOWING NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS POSITIONS OF ARTICLES DURING THE 2014 ELECTION.**



The above **Table 6.7 and Figure 6.4** shows the five levels of positioning adopted in the analysed newspapers. The position with the highest percentage is the inside paper with an 85.80 per cent the side-lines is **7.18 per cent** the front is **3.82 per cent**, **the centre is 3.18 per cent**, **and the back is 0.02 per cent**. Proportionately the structure of the newspaper is in such a way that in an edition, there is one front page, one back page, one centre page but multiple side-lines and inside pages. This explanation confirms why the inside page has more articles placements.

But a notable fact emanates when we compare the Length of the articles with the placements of the articles in Table 6.8.

**TABLE 6.8 LENGTH AND POSITIONS TYPES OF ARTICLES.**

Row Labels	Advert	Advertorials	Cartoons	Editorial	Features	Letters to the Editors	Newstories	Opinion Articles	Photo News	Supplements	
☐ up to 1 page	0.07%	0.07%	0.00%	0.00%	0.28%	0.00%	0.16%	0.00%	0.05%	0.18%	0.81%
Centre	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%	0.16%
Front	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Inside	0.07%	0.07%	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%	0.00%	0.05%	0.00%	0.02%	0.16%	0.62%
☐ up to 1/4 page	0.12%	0.09%	2.69%	2.90%	0.07%	32.83%	30.62%	5.18%	0.90%	2.35%	77.76%
Back	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Centre	0.02%	0.00%	0.07%	0.07%	0.00%	0.60%	0.83%	0.14%	0.00%	0.02%	1.75%
Front	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.82%	0.05%	0.05%	0.02%	1.93%
Inside	0.09%	0.09%	2.62%	2.00%	0.05%	31.41%	23.21%	4.84%	0.85%	1.77%	66.94%
Sidelines	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.83%	0.02%	0.83%	4.74%	0.16%	0.00%	0.53%	7.11%
☐ up to 1/2 page	0.05%	0.07%	0.02%	0.05%	0.90%	0.02%	10.50%	5.11%	0.14%	1.13%	17.98%
Centre	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%	0.21%	0.00%	0.05%	0.51%
Front	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.59%	0.00%	0.05%	0.00%	1.63%
Inside	0.05%	0.07%	0.02%	0.05%	0.90%	0.02%	8.59%	4.90%	0.09%	1.08%	15.77%
Sidelines	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.07%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.07%
☐ up to 3/4 page	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.58%	0.00%	1.04%	0.32%	0.05%	0.25%	2.23%
Centre	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.18%
Front	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.21%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.23%
Inside	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.55%	0.00%	0.69%	0.32%	0.02%	0.23%	1.82%
☐ Above 1	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.67%	0.00%	0.30%	0.07%	0.02%	0.14%	1.22%
Centre	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.32%	0.00%	0.16%	0.05%	0.00%	0.05%	0.58%
Inside	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.35%	0.00%	0.14%	0.02%	0.02%	0.09%	0.64%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>0.23%</b>	<b>0.23%</b>	<b>2.74%</b>	<b>2.95%</b>	<b>2.49%</b>	<b>32.86%</b>	<b>42.62%</b>	<b>10.68%</b>	<b>1.15%</b>	<b>4.05%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>



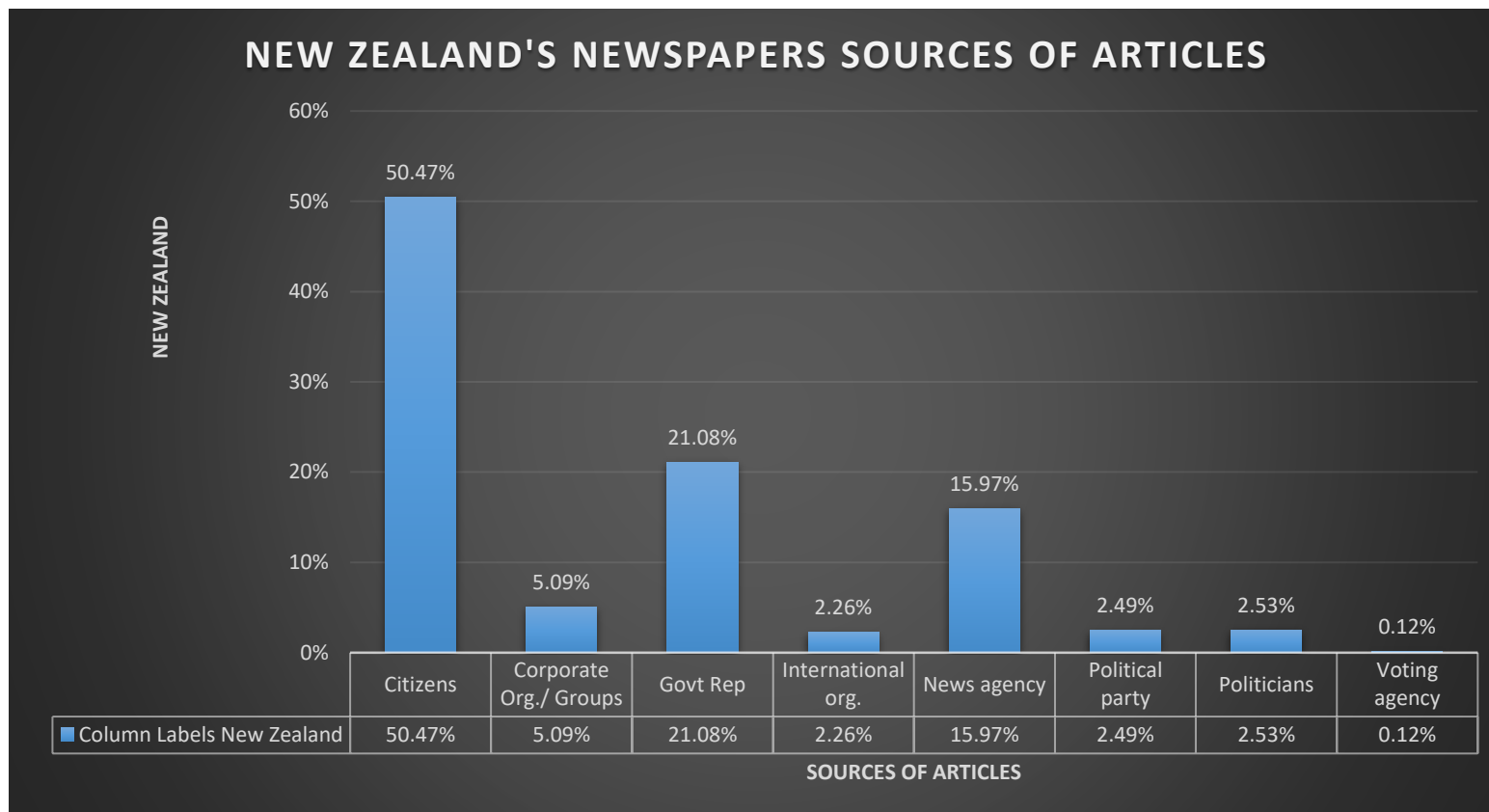
Table 6.8 shows that the length of articles with positions in the side-lines and the insides are majorly within the up to 1/4 and up to ½ page length range. The description implies that although New Zealand newspapers featured more articles in the inside pages, their length reduced within the lower range. The further explanation for this is that since space depicted by length has a cost implication in a newspaper, the focus of the newspapers was in the spread of the articles across as many types as possible on the inside pages **is at 85.79 per cent** while the emphasis of a few are on the **front page is at 3.82 per cent**.

## 6.6 DESCRIBING SOURCES OF ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND.

**TABLE 6. 9 SOURCES OF ARTICLES DURING THE 2014 ELECTION.**

Row Labels	New Zealand
Citizens	50.47%
Govt. Rep	21.08%
News agency	15.97%
Corporate Org./ Groups	5.09%
Politicians	2.53%
Political party	2.49%
International Org.	2.26%
Voting agency	0.12%
Grand Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 6. 5 SOURCES OF ARTICLES.**



Examining sources cited in an article is very important to this study. One is the role that a wide range of sources plays in the plurality necessary for a healthy representative democracy (Gans, 2003). Another reason is that "source and subject choice in newspaper coverage can affect perceptions of public status. If journalists serve as legitimisers, reflecting events in society to readers and viewers, the sources and subjects of those stories are going to present and reinforce certain ideas" (Armstrong 2004,p.140). Different sources represent diverse voices, arguments, perceptions, biases, reflections, cultural affiliations and so on, on the news item that is reported. Armstrong also notes that the reverse is also true "in the same way that views can be shaped by what is made available in mass media, views can be swayed by what is not seen in mass media" (Armstrong 2004,p.140). Accordingly, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2009,p.76) state that "citing sources or providing quotes from direct observers of the event can be seen as a way of verification of the news account. It can also serve as a method of providing competing arguments".

Most of competing historical periods of the press such as the liberal or pluralist narrative, the feminist, cultural or populist, and libertarian all support the engagement of citizens in the newspapers as a form of the media sphere for a robust representative democracy (Curran, 2002b; 2009; Stuart, 2008). Chapter two discusses these societal impacts of the newspapers and the other media.

New Zealand reporting of the 2014 election used a range of different types of sources. It is important to note that this study analysed sources based on the primary or main source cited in the headline or the lead of the news story. The analysis follows the assertion of Armstrong (2004,p.141) that "a story has a hierarchical structure. (For example) When gender mentions appear in the headline or the story lead, it would generally imply that a person played a more prominent role in the story than someone mentioned in the last two paragraphs". Nonetheless, gender was not a general focus in this study.

In this study, the pilot study generated eight types of sources cited in the articles analysed. In New Zealand media, the listed eight sources are the citizens, government representative, international organisations, news agency, political party, politicians, and the voting agency. Chapter Five, the methodology chapter has undertaken the operationalisation of these types of sources.

The data from **table 6.9 and figure 6.5** shows the most common type of source in New Zealand media was the citizens with 50.47 per cent. The surge in the percentage was partly due to many letters to the editor, which reflects in the news stories and other types as well. In all the analysed articles, journalists in New Zealand cite citizens more as sources in their reporting. Table 6.10 illustrates two fundamental factors responsible for this use.

**Table 6.10 SOURCES CITED BY TYPE OF ARTICLE IN NEW ZEALAND**

Row Labels	Advert	Advertorials	Cartoons	Editorial	Features	Letters to the Editors	New stories	Opinion Articles	Photo News	Supplements	TOTAL
Citizens			2	3	24	1414	536	151	11	52	2193
Corporate Org./ Groups	1	3		1	5	3	200	2	1	5	221
Govt. Rep	4	4		2	23	3	833	6	22	19	916
International org.					2	1	87	1	4	3	98
News agency	2		117	122	50	3	18	297	8	77	694
Political party	3	1			2		93	4	1	4	108
Politicians		1			2	4	82	3	3	15	110
Voting agency		1					3			1	5
Grand Total	10	10	119	128	108	1428	1852	464	50	176	4345

**Table 6.10** shows that citizens wrote nearly all letters to the editors is **n=1414**) and therefore counted as the primary sources cited. The addition of all the citizen sources cited by each of the types of article in **Table 6.10** is **n= 2193** accounts for the 50.47 per cent (See Table 6.9).

Democracy is evident through being practised in actual interpersonal and among a heterogeneity of forms of communication. The representation of the many voices of the members of the electorates in the newspapers can interpret as evidence of the fact that New Zealand, which has an established democracy, has a healthy civil society. The point is that New Zealand media thereby fulfils the fourth characteristics of a developed democracy by Sanderson (2011, p. 125) which is “Individual rights and freedoms about the entire population and their general honouring”. New Zealand further portrays the needed factors to why it is termed an established democracy as enumerated in section 3.2.2 of the thesis (Carpini, Cook & Jacobs 2004; Cohen 2007).

**Government sources** were a significant source of content at **21.08 per cent**. From the data in **Table 6.10**, news stories have a total of **833**. The inclusion of other types of articles using Government Representative as sources in the ranking, gives a total of 916. Studies have shown that there is a preponderance of the use of Government as sources in political discourse. This type of source, government officials, for instance, are considered to have more authoritative voices than average citizens (Bennett et al., 2007; Lawrence, 2000; and Manning, 2001 in Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2009).

From Table 6.12, we can infer that Government representative who includes political office holders are a dominant voice and source of news, especially in an election period. These occur in all mostly in all types of articles aside from the Letters to the editor, which is a common product of the citizens. See Table 6.9 where these two sources account for 71.55 per cent of the total number of sources cited in the newspaper’s articles.

The **news agency** has 15.97 per cent sources cited. Table 6.12 shows the cartoons using the News agency (117) times, the editorials, (122), Features, (50), letters to the editors (3), new stories (18), opinion articles (297), supplement (77), Photo news (8) which all gives a total of 694. News agency=694 is at 15.97 per cent (**Table 6.9 and 6.10**).

The implication of the above data viewed by Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2009,p. 75) who describe the three ways journalists can access news, as " 1) they can be eyewitnesses to the events they are reporting, 2) they can search independently for relevant information, or 3) they can get the information from various sources." It is evident from the above that sometimes journalists are reporting what they have witnessed or research and discovered. One out of the three times is when they cite themselves. The trend for editorials and other opinion-based journalism is to quote news agency materials most heavily.

**Corporate organisation or groups** make up a smaller but still significant proportion of sources at **5.09 per cent (Table 6.9 and Figure 6.4)**. Different scholars have written on the influence of voluntary groups, public relations groups, communities, civil societies, public organisations, and others on the process of news production as viable sources (Davis, 1996; Deacon, 1996; Shoemaker, 1989; Turow, 1989). McNair 1994,p.48 in Deacon (1996), states that the production of news "is not simply a function of ownership, nor of journalistic practices and rituals, but the interaction between news organisations, the sources of their output, and other social institutions". The distinction of this recent approach is the identification of "the strands of shared meaning" (Edles, 1999) which these groups have. In a democratic setting, the presence of such groups is therefore unavoidable. The statement is particularly true in New Zealand sample for news stories which have by far the highest use, relative to other story types, of corporate organisations/ groups as sources. The total of the use of this type of source is 221 within which the news stories account for 200. The news media sees the groups as an essential contributor to the election debate.

**Politicians** are the fifth most common sources cited by New Zealand at **2.53 per cent, (Table 6.9 & Figure 6.4)**. Elections or other democratic practices among nations have seen the increasing rise of a self-appointed few known as 'professional party politician', 'professional state bureaucrat'(Aberbach et al., 2009). They also explain that these have "risen mostly from middle-class (and occasionally working class) backgrounds, well-educated, committed to a lifetime in politics, dependent on the electoral fortunes of their particular party and on their success in playing the game of party politics (Aberbach et al., 2009:2). These politicians represent an elite group expected to work for the interest

of the electorates and contest for election. They are active participants in any democracy. It is therefore justifiable that they are cited as sources during New Zealand 2014 election. Table 6.9 shows 82 quotes, in news stories, 15 citations in supplements and a scattering of other citations, totalling 110. It is evident that the percentage of politicians cited is low compared to some other sources. The attribution style is because the New Zealand media way of reporting election is usually more in a collective form of either political parties or the Government. Politicians are not often cited unless when about a scandal (Bahador et al., 2016). Politicians were coded when the articles refer to a particular issue that concerns them. The citation is different from when a politician acts on behalf of the government, for example, a minister who is coded as a government representative.

**Political parties were cited at nearly the same level at 2.49 per cent.** The data is low despite the convention that “political parties should be considered as essentially important for a well-functioning democracy” (Burnell & Gerrits, 2010:1065), and political parties are official participants in the electoral process (Gauja, 2016,p.22). There appears to be fusion in the description of the roles of the government and political parties while reporting the election in New Zealand. The media reports the Government of the day in the light of the political party that is in power before the election. It is only at the close period to the election that there is a distinction made between the political parties in power and others in the opposition. There is, therefore, a form of de-emphasis on the use of political parties as sources which justifies the low percentage it takes up in the list of sources cited by New Zealand media. Nonetheless, under the category of representative democracy, political parties were more involved and mentioned with a **20.58 percentage**.

The seventh ranking among the cited source type is **International organisations at 2.26 per cent**. The world has become more accessible through communication, and there is even the predominance of democracy among the various government of the world. The media, also in this regard in New Zealand, interrelate with other countries politically. The analysis captured this level of international relations. The concerns of the researcher were issues about New Zealand politics and other countries during the period of investigation as reported by the newspapers analysed.



The eighth ranking of sources cited is the **Voting Organisation at 0.12 per cent**. During the analysis of the newspaper of the 2014 New Zealand election, there was a single mention of the voting organisations. The mention as shown in Table 5.8, was about an advertorial. New Zealand population are highly educated in electoral matters and elections, with the country experiencing a substantial number of years of election without interruptions (Miller, 2005). Therefore, the role of their voting organisation or otherwise called electoral commission is not emphasised as there is not the same need for election education. Moreover, communication between the New Zealand Electoral commission and the members of the electorate is mostly done through personalised and directly mailed means such as letters and pamphlets. The form of communication is through postal services to individual addresses. Journalists and editors from New Zealand further confirmed this fact from the collated interview (see chapter 10).

#### **6.7: GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**

As established in the methodology chapter of the thesis, each of the content categories examined was coded in a mutually exclusive manner. The researcher reviewed the period of the election under two distinct auspices. One is the series of governmental activities reported titled the Government political activities and the second is issues relating to representative democracy. In this section, we will analyse the different government political activities that were reported by New Zealand newspapers during the 2014 election campaign.

**TABLE 6. 11 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

Political Activities in New Zealand	Percentages
BUILDING& RECONSTRUCTION	12.89%
TRANSPORTATION/ROAD CONSTRUCTION	11.50%
BUREAUCRACY	10.35%
WELFARE / UNEMPLOYMENT	9.10%
ENVIRONMENT	8.93%
HEALTH	6.45%
CORRUPTION / CRIME	5.81%
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	5.67%
EDUCATION	5.58%
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND CORPORATIONS	5.44%
ECONOMICS / FINANCE	3.91%
SOCIAL / ENTERTAINMENT / CULTURE	3.71%
THE RULE OF LAW	2.46%
MILITARY / POLICE	1.90%
AGRIC	1.73%
INSURGENCY / SECURITY	1.73%
POWER/ELECTRICITY/PETROLEUM	1.45%
GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT	0.73%
MANUFACTURING / TECHNOLOGY	0.67%
Total	100.00%



FIGURE 6. 6A GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

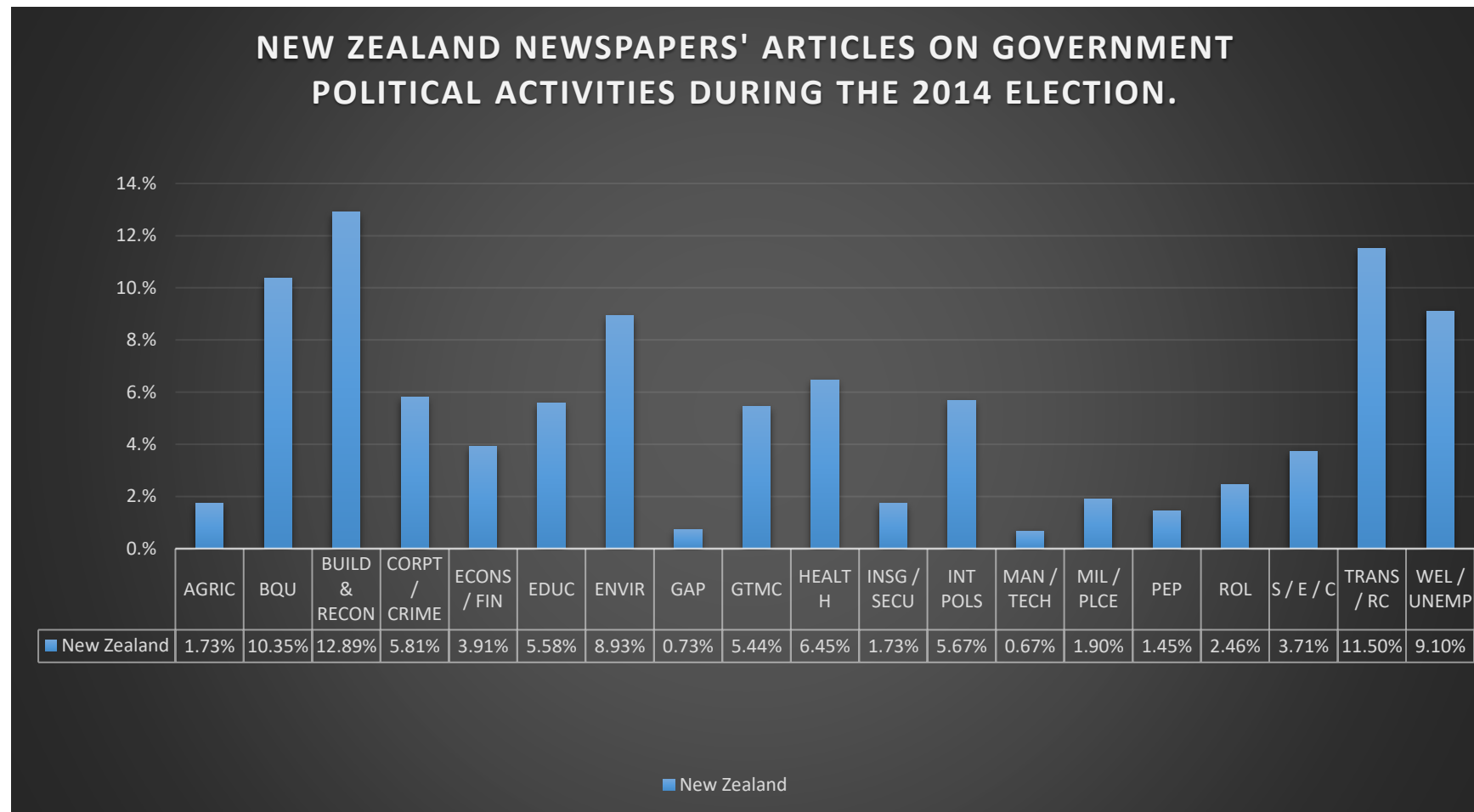
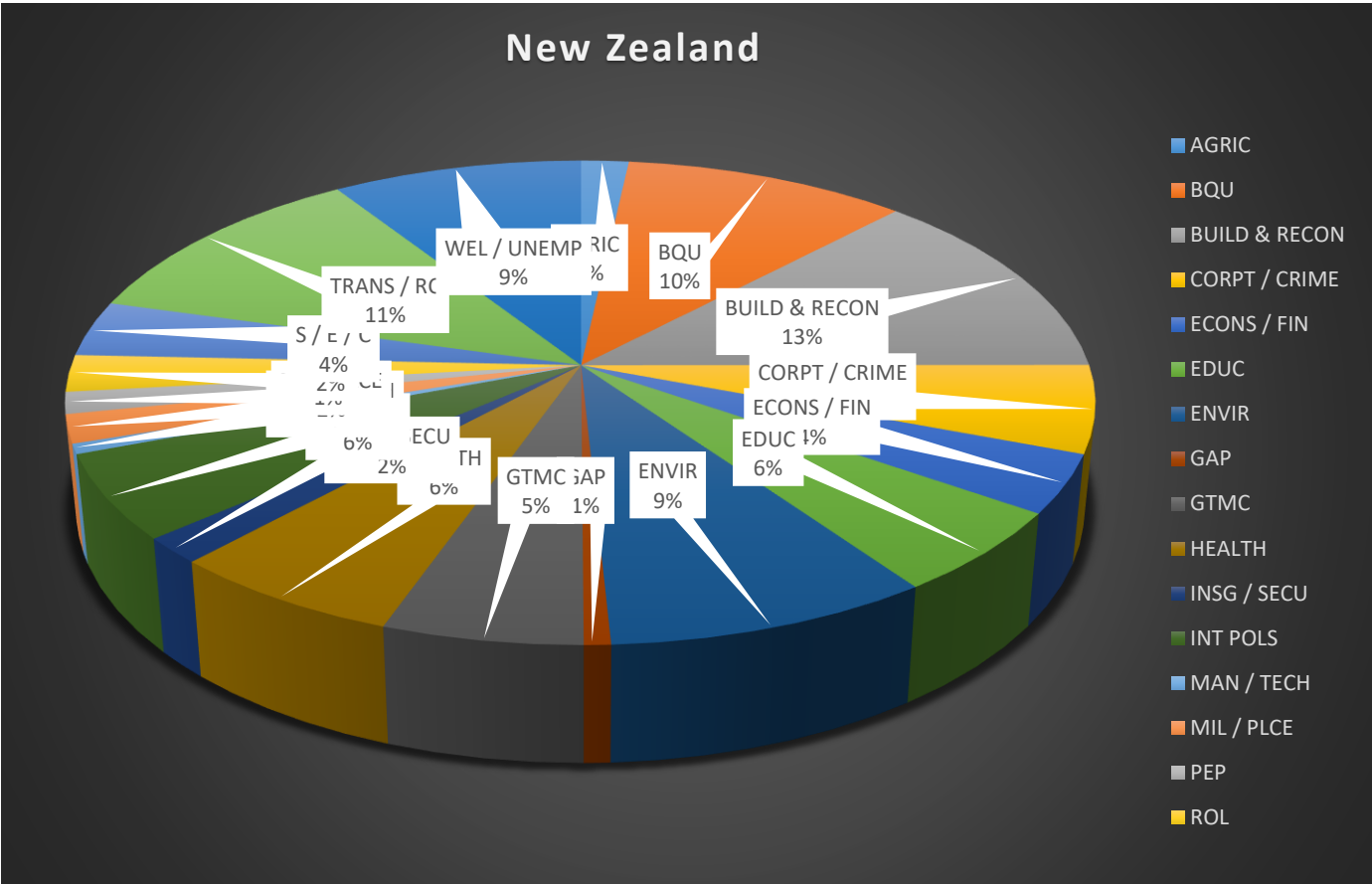


FIGURE 6. 6B GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES



The government activity with the highest focus was the **building and reconstruction** in New Zealand at **12.84 per cent**. The result of this activity is because of the vast amount of news coverage of the earthquakes which had occurred in 2010 and 2011, ravaging Christchurch which is the most populated city in the South Island of the country (Brendon A. Bradley, 2011; Chouw & Hao, 2012; Giovinazzi et al., 2011). At the time of this election, the electorates were concerned with various issues relating to the rebuild and resettling of citizens affected by the earthquake (Giovinazzi et al., 2012). There was another crisis about insurance payments and other benefits from relevant government agencies (King et al., 2014). Many of the individuals featured in news stories analysed were concerned about government policies on alleviating their plight (Johnson & Mamula-Seadon, 2014).

The next highly reflected issue that emanates from the aftermath of the earthquake is in **transportation and road construction**. This is the second largest theme of political discussion in the commercialised newspapers of New Zealand at **11.50 per cent** of articles. Each of these was affected by two different factors. Road construction was because of the earthquake which naturally weakened the existing road networks, but the challenges for transportation was posed by the fast development of Auckland. Auckland has about 50 per cent of the population in New Zealand (StatsNZ, 2013). It is a city located in the Northern part of New Zealand and the commercial heart of the country. Numerous articles were written during this period about the need to upgrade the Auckland road networks, increase alternative transport means like the trains and expand parking spaces in the Central Business district of the city (CBD) (Orsman, 2014).

The next in the rank are articles related to **Government Bureaucratic activity (Le Maux, 2009)** which is **10.35 percent**. These articles refer to government day to day activities such as press statements, visits, and all the pronounced actions of the ruling government. It includes meetings held by the executive arm of the government especially the Prime Minister, in this regard, and other executives in his cabinets like ministers, local council executives (Herald, 2014).

The fourth form of government activities is articles on **welfare and unemployment** which has a percentage of **9.07 per cent**. In New Zealand media, there was less focus on the low unemployment rate (Cornege, 2014). The concerns were more around issues of employees' welfare. Issues like workers' pay equity, aged people care, compensation for wrongful dismissal had substantial news stories and other articles published on them.

Other concerns examined are the discussion on re-entering the Pike River mine, the scene of an industrial disaster (Bayer, 2013).<sup>11</sup>

According to the percentage of coverage of the articles in descending order, the **environment** as a form of government activities made up **8.90 per cent**. Pollution was a significant issue especially the effect of the wood burners on the environment. There was a lot of discussion around zero carbon tolerance during this period in the media.

Government activities' next focus in rank in the commercialised media of New Zealand is **health** with a total of **6.45 per cent** articles. Different published issues are on government policies around health care delivery plans, the children's hospital known as "The Starship hospital" patient-doctor ratios (Johnston, 2014; Small, 2014; Walsh, 2014).

Articles related **to corruption/crime** of government officials and the country, in general, were a total of **5.81 per cent**. Issues of scandals during the election for example where the national government was accused of politicians' false declaration, scandals, sexual harassment, negligence of agencies and ministers (Fox, 2014). It also includes citizen's crime levels that became issues of political concern.

Closely following is the focus on **International politics** with a total of **5.67 per cent**. Some of the articles analysed under this theme discussed issues around the Prime Minister diplomatic visits, other types of relationships with other developed countries, for example, America featured prominently about the free trade agreement, and the role of New Zealand in world refugee issues.

**Education** measured at a percentage of **5.58 per cent**. There was discussion around declining education values, challenges with school teachers and student's ratio, changes in education policies by the political parties. There were different education policies by the party in power and the opposition and the newspapers reflected this.

**Government ministries and Civil service** focused on variants of government political activities with a percentage of **5.44 per cent**. Other aspects of government, for example, the local council activities, different ministries, and some of their challenges were analysed here.

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<sup>11</sup>The Pike river incident happened when a mine exploded with some workers inside. The dead bodies were unable to be retrieved, and there are debates around re-entering and the further risks that could cause.

Also, categorised and analysed is **economic and finance** with **3.91 per cent** coverage of government political activities in this area.

Another form of government political activity with 3.71 per cent are the **social/entertainment/culture**. It is common during the election year to see government visibly present at social events, musical, sports, and others.

The rule of law **and the judiciary** also features as one of government political concerns in an election year although at a **2.46 per cent** coverage. There were few parliamentary scandals or in the judiciary.

The **military/police** featured at **1.90 per cent**. **Insurgency/ security** was reported at **1.73 per cent**, but the focus was not any insurgent but on issues about technology, territorial safety against any form of invasion, neighbourhood security challenges. Discussion on **agriculture** was also featured with a **1.73 per cent** as New Zealand has a thriving animal husbandry industry. The country has an internationally export-driven economy from animal products, food crops and other by-products like wine. **Power/Electricity/ petroleum** was a low-level aspect of the government political activities in the election year coverage by the commercialised newspapers in New Zealand. It has a tally of **1.45 per cent**. Not much publication on petroleum, but power featured prominently. There was a discussion about alternative power sources and the operations of the different electricity distributors. **Government appointments** often feature after an election, although in this sample it was only **0.73 per cent**. There was some switch in roles, appointments and reshuffle of the cabinet after the election, but this was not predominant as the incumbent party before the election (National) won the 2014 election. The last in the range and with the lowest percentage among the variants of government political activities is the focus on **manufacturing and technology** at **0.67 per cent**.

The above description relates to **Table 6.11** and **Figure 6. 5**. The variants of the listed governmental activities show that the media represented by New Zealand newspapers extensively informed the electorates about outstanding issues which the government was engaged in during the period analysed. They can be said to have performed their normative role of surveillance and are socially responsible.



Moreover, an informed view about the degree of government activities is necessary to make the right decision during an election. The knowledge will add to the credibility of the democratic process. Therefore, examining New Zealand newspapers from the perspectives of governmental activities is relevant in the thesis.

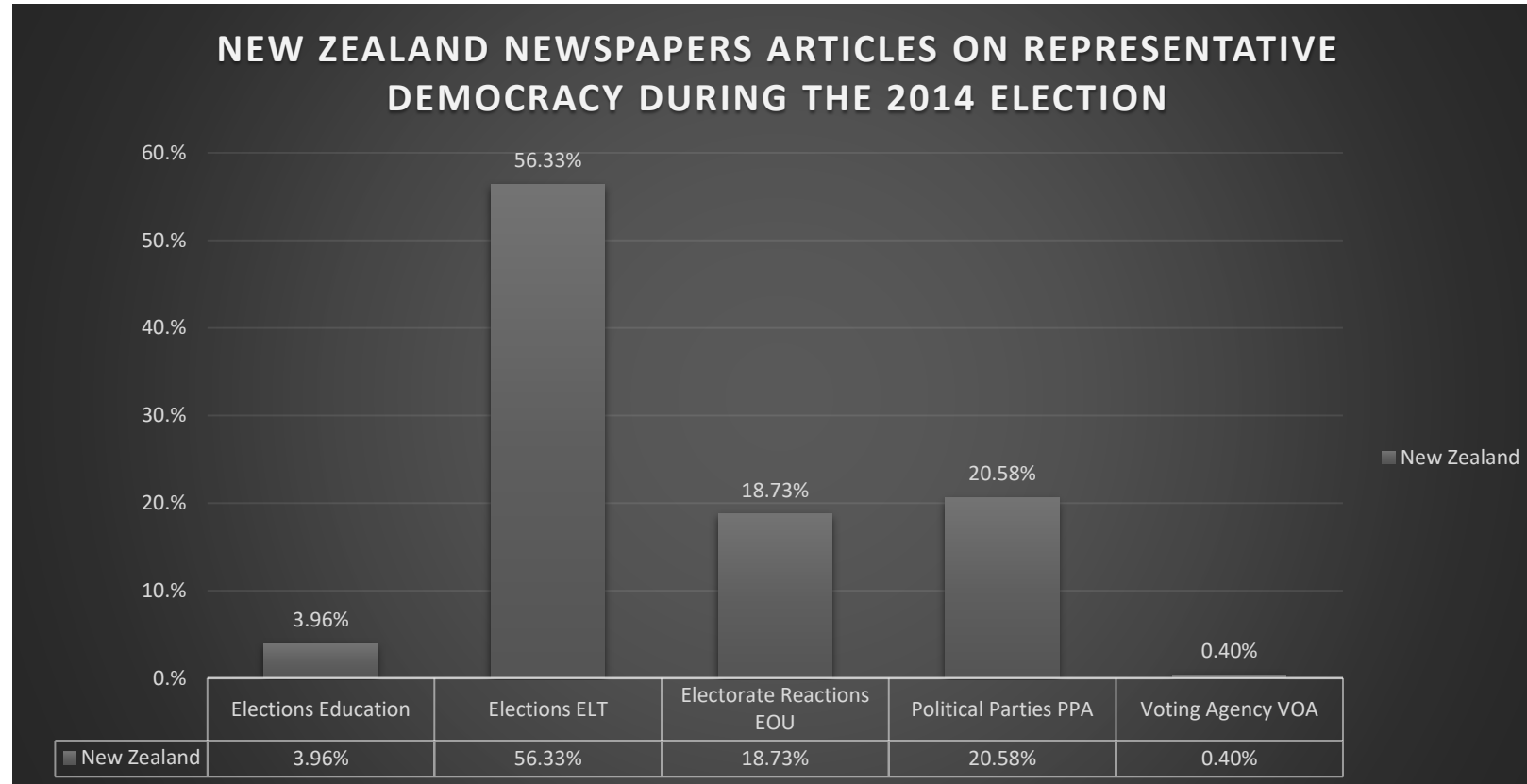
## 6.8 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

The second thematic window of examination under the newspapers analysis is the representative democracy. The concept has been adequately reviewed in the third chapter of this study. The variants or coding units under this are Elections education, Election, Electorate reactions after the election, Political parties, voting agencies. **Table 6.11 and Figure 6. 6** show a percentage total of each of these variants.

**TABLE 6. 12 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY ACTIVITIES**

Row Labels	Column Labels
Representative Democracy in New Zealand	Percentages of Total
Elections Education	3.96%
Elections ELT	56.33%
Electorate Reactions EOU	18.73%
Political Parties PPA	20.58%
Voting Agency VOA	0.40%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 6. 7 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY ACTIVITIES**



In New Zealand, the sub-theme under representative democracy that has the highest data are articles on the election with 56.33 per cent, followed by the political parties at 20.58 per cent, and electorate reactions are 18.73 per cent. The other two sub-themes, elections education 3.96 per cent, and voting agency, 0.40 per cent, had very little coverage. As expected given the sample, the election was the dominant theme mostly reflected by New Zealand newspapers as there was an increase in the coverage. Extensive discussion focused on this issue. There was a comprehensive coverage of such matters as campaigns, candidates' policies, evaluation of the achievements of the government, Election Day receive a high level of coverage as newspaper staff from other beats were drafted in to monitor the election and report vote counting and election result announcements.

Political Parties with 20.58 per cent were the second focus. Naturally, New Zealand reports the election from the perspective of political parties as they play a vital role. Aside from the ruling party (the National Party), there was an active opposition (the Labour Party). The researcher analysed based on issues reacted on by the party's leadership or spokesperson. There were other parties, for example, New Zealand First, Greens, Maori Party, and Internet Mana that featured.

Electorate reactions with **18.73 per cent** portrayed the post-climax period of the election. There were excitement and anticipation for the winner. Discussion continued around the possibility of the elected party delivering more to the electorates more than their previous years. There was no notable controversy around the election result.

Election education had a low percentage of 3.96 per cent. There were various instances where the media itself played this role. There were articles written to educate the electorate the more about their expected roles regarding the election. The newspapers also published citizens' comments and advices.

The role of the voting agency is to conduct a fair and credible election by applying constituted regulations and monitoring the process of election. Their activity reported at 0.80 per cent as the output of analysis. The reason is because New Zealand electorates are highly responsible and often engage in self-censorship. The civil society is very active in all matters relating to their democracy. The presence of such an agency is there, but their role is highly personalised and restrictive. Moreover, there was no election crisis.

### 6.9: MEDIA ROLES.

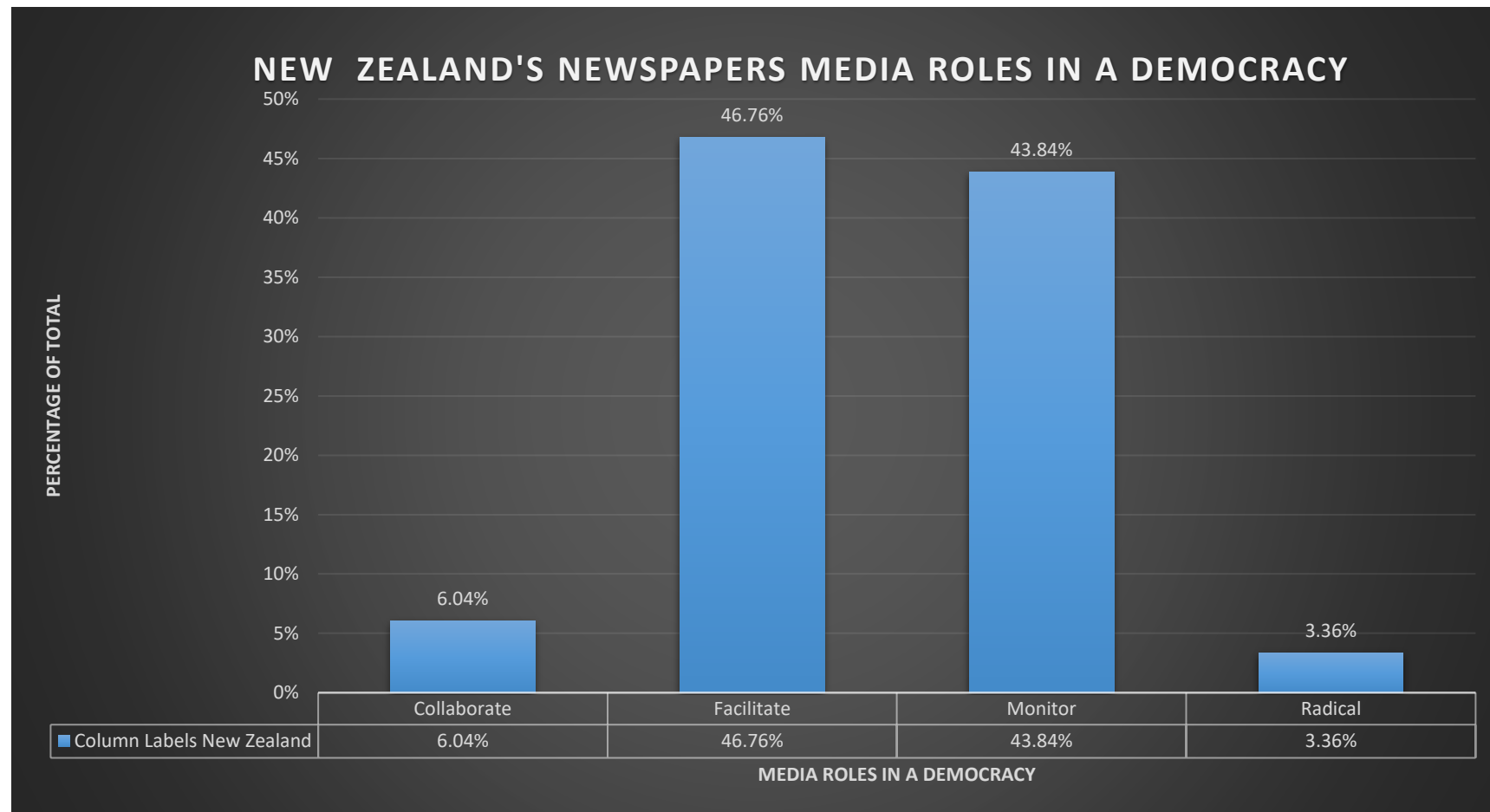
The focus here relates to the role of the media in a democracy from the perspective of the normative theories of the press. As explained earlier under the theoretical framework of the thesis, the normative theory is pruned down to focus on the established four roles of the news media in a democracy. These are the monitorial role, the facilitative role, the collaborative role, and the radical role.

**Table 6.13 and Figure 6.8** show the four media roles and their percentage total as analysed from the newspapers.

**TABLE 6.13 MEDIA ROLES.**

Media Role New Zealand Newspapers	Percentage
Collaborate	6.04%
Facilitate	46.76%
Monitor	43.84%
Radical	3.36%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 6. 8 MEDIA ROLES.**



The media role with the highest percentage is the **Facilitative role at 46.76 per cent.** This level indicates strong media participation in democracy. The facilitative role implies that the newspapers in their coverage of the New Zealand election also focused on creating a means of dialogue with the citizens. The implication is that the coverage consists of articles that reflect their strengthening and support for participation in the civil society outside the state and the market (Christians et al., 2009). There were voices of citizens both in the news published and in the form of letters to the editors.

Closely related to this role is generating the deliberation necessary for the fostering of a democratic public sphere. Although commercialised newspapers are in New Zealand, there was the publication of letters on different views and counter opinions by the citizens, as discussed in section 6.3. Such articles provided for under the facilitative role of the media are not sponsored or paid for by the citizens. The role further creates an interactive nature in New Zealand democratic sphere.

The second most common media role was the **Monitorial role of the media at 43.84 per cent.** This role implies that the media played a surveillance role. It consists majorly of the provision of information which was meant to benefit the receiver (Christians et al., 2009). The concern of New Zealand newspapers in this role was providing enough information on the status quo of the various issues discussed. Most stories presented had human interest angle elements and cited citizens as sources. These facts further corroborated by statistics from types of articles and sources quoted in the articles, which was analysed in **section 6.6, with tables 6.9 and 6.10 of this chapter.**

Another interpretation given of this statistic on the monitorial role of the media is that the media were able to fulfil their democratic role in New Zealand presentation of Government's activities. They justify the notion of being the fourth estate of the realm in presenting the facts that were predominant and germane to New Zealand public during the coverage of the 2014 election. This had been established earlier in this chapter that the issues that were portrayed were issues that were predominant during the election.

Moreover, the media also fulfil their social responsibility role to the extent that they provided "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning" (Blanchard 1977; Hutchins 1947 cited in (Christians et al., 2009.p.160).

Only **6.04 per cent** of coverage coded as fulfilling a **collaborative role**. Collaboration indicates "a number of relationships in which the media willingly or sometimes enthusiastically participate" (Christians et al., 2009,p.196). This role sometimes encompasses where the media is involved in a partnership that is beneficial to them and others. This could be in the form of financial benefits, for example, advertisers and the newspapers. It could also involve some kinds of writing that are the sourced activist or opinion writers. Table 5.3 and 5.8 shows the different types of articles, and their length and the opinion related articles such as Features, supplements, opinion articles are proof that the newspaper fulfils their collaborative role here.

The fourth role is the **Radical role** at **3.36 per cent**. Here the media seek to challenge the status quo through their writings. It is an active role by the media, and it is often seen as taking place more in the emerging anti-commercial press (Christians et al., 2009). It means talking straight to the government, or whichever power structure in society is concerned in an issue and coming to the defence of the less powerful. The media usually act in this role as a collective body and not as individual writers (Atton, 2008). The press supports democracy in this role while becoming the voice for the voiceless. This role of the media shows in media history (Curran, 2002b,2009).

Recent trends have shown a fusion of almost all the significant patterns of media history in this dispensation of democratic resurgence. The media now has an increasing number of roles to fulfil through providing information, framing, and persuading. The media also is involved in agenda setting where they specifically influence how the government and the governed think and act. Although from the percentage of the radical role accessed from New Zealand newspapers, which is low, it cannot be significant when compared to the monitorial and the facilitative role. It is slightly higher than the Nigerian media.

The distinctiveness of the thesis is in the fact that the discussion and analysis of data will be replicated for each of the country studied. The practice is a norm and standard in any comparative study. It is, therefore, expedient to describe the data analysed by the Nigerian election which was also studied. The same seven levels of analysis used to describe New Zealand media will be used to describe Nigerian newspaper's analysis in their portrayal of the 2015 election in the next chapter. It is done through an analysis in chapter 7 and comparison in chapter 12.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: DESCRIPTION OF THE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 2015 ELECTION.**

### **7.1 INTRODUCTION.**

The chapter discusses each of the seven levels of analysis from Nigerian newspapers. The basic introduction and background to this chapter have been enumerated in chapter 5. The structure of this chapter parallels that of chapter 6. The chapter also answers research question one but about Nigerian newspapers.

#### **Research Question 1:**

What are the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy and political activities as reflected in the political columns of Nigeria commercialised newspapers?

Although all the major sections that relates to the seven levels of analysis examined in chapter 6 were also examined in this chapter, there is a difference with the inclusion of some additional tables and their subsequent descriptions and analysis. The newly introduced tables reflect some distinctions from the way the analysed data gathered from the Nigerian newspapers differs from the New Zealand newspapers. Some concepts were introduced with additional tables to further explain the portrayal of political articles during an election year. Examples of such tables are sources of opinion (7.2), Length of opinion (7.3) Photo news Length, Length of advertisement (7.5), Placement of Advertisement (7.6), Length of features (7.7), Length of advertorials (7.8), Sources of advertorials (7.9), Sources of cartoons (7.10), corruption as a major theme of cartoons (7.11). These tables further discuss additional issues generated from the analysed data from the Nigerian newspapers.

### **7.2 TYPES OF ARTICLES**

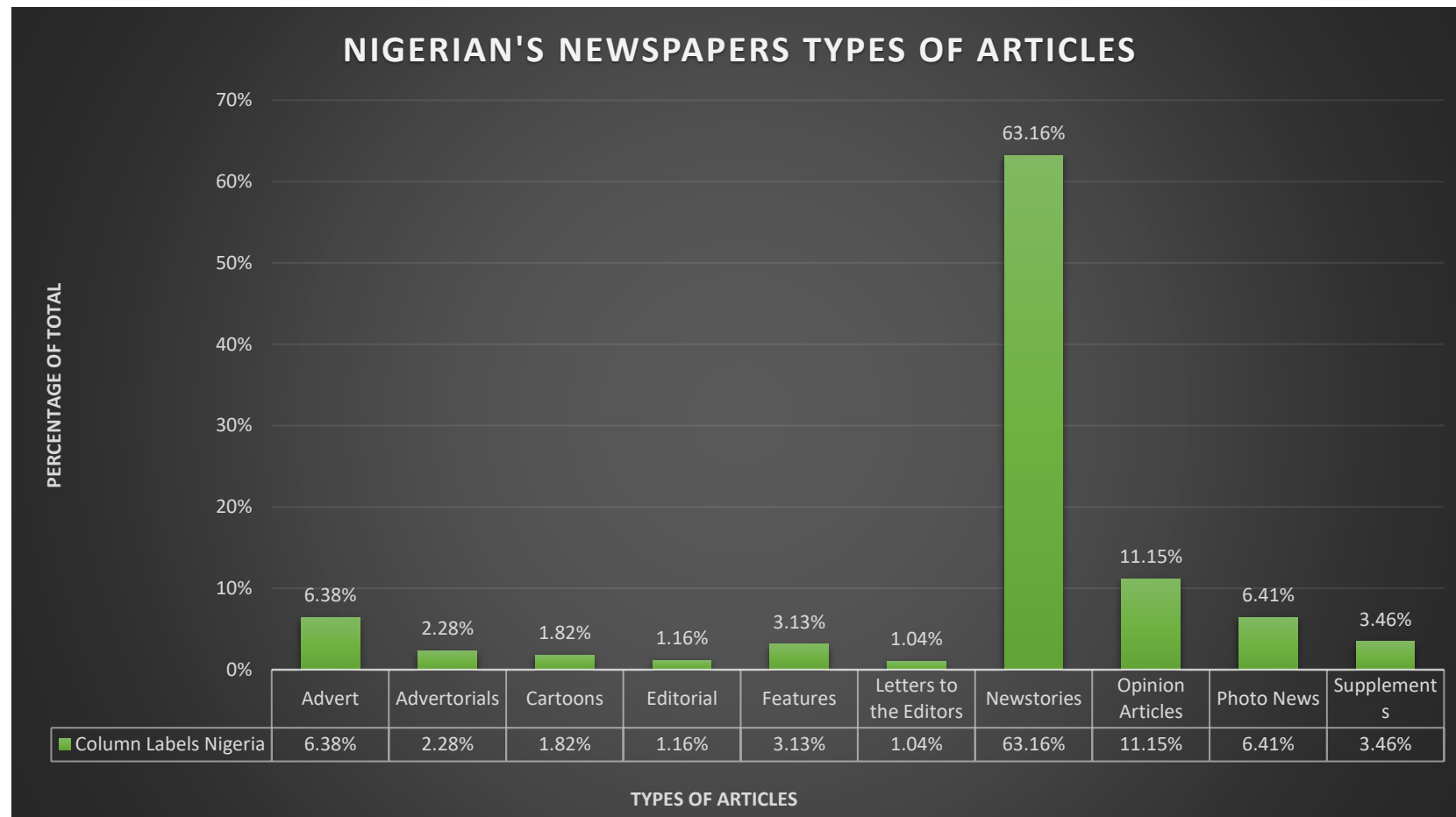
There are ten types of articles analysed from the newspapers studied. These are discussed using both the numerical figures and the percentile total. Table 7.1 and figure 7.1 show these types of articles.



**TABLE 7. 1 NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS TYPES OF ARTICLES**

Story Nigerian Newspapers	Type	Types articles Number	of in	Percentages
News stories		8901		63.16%
Opinion Articles		1571		11.15%
Advert		899		6.38%
Features		441		3.13%
Advertorials		321		2.28%
Cartoons		257		1.82%
Editorial		164		1.16%
Letters to the Editors.		147		1.04%
Photo News		904		6.41%
Supplements		487		3.46%
Total		14,092		100.00%

**FIGURE 7. 1 TYPES OF ARTICLES.**



News stories at **63.16 per cent is n=8901** show that Nigerian newspaper published this more than the other types of articles on the 2015 general election. News stories, as established earlier, help the journalists to fulfil the responsibility of providing information about the election (Fountaine & Comrie, 2015). However, the dimension of the published news stories during this election is that the journalists provided the specific information needed by the readers. These types of news are 'fast and instantaneous journalism' (Le Masurier 2015,p.138). Phillips (2014) further characterise it as the information that news organisations can find and transmit within the necessary time-frame. Some of the features of this journalism is adapting to the strict inverted pyramid structures, lack of the usage of narrative techniques such as description or the art of storytelling.

News stories on the election were focused on core political issues (further analysis in other levels will show this) and did not engage in backgrounding or employ the elements of human angles to the story. Newspapers were predominantly interested in informing about the different political subjects. This is illustrated by the finding that **over 50 per cent, which is 63.16 per cent**, of the types of articles were news stories and no other in-depth forms of journalistic writings.

**Opinion articles at 11.15 per cent n=1571, (Table 7.1 & Fig.7.1)** were used to express the views of the newspaper and the citizens. Most writers of the opinion articles were citizens **(Table 7.2)** from the elitist class, educated and professional writers. Nigerian journalists from the in-depth interview data confirmed that not much room is given to the 'ordinary man' who is seen as not elitist enough to engage with other newspapers audience. This practice weakens the principles of democracy, representative democracy or even an established democracy.

Moreover, these writers are given the space (minimum of a quarter of a page) because of their ability to write such opinions which "were sold as commodities in an expanding media marketplace" (McNair, 2008), See Table 7.3. It is assumed that only professional writers could write such lengthy articles.

**TABLE 7.2 SOURCES OF OPINION ARTICLES.**

<b>SOURCES</b>	<b>Opinion Articles</b>
Citizens	1428
Corporate Org./ Groups	19
Govt. Rep	31
International org.	0
News agency	53
Political party	17
Politicians	22
Voting agency	1
Grand Total	1571

**TABLE 7.3 LENGTH OF OPINION ARTICLES.**

<b>Length</b>	<b>Opinion Articles</b>
up to 1 page	135
up to 1/4	552
up to 1/2 page	725
up to 3/4 page	147
Above 1	12
Total	1571

These tables further show that the newspaper allows for “a cult of individuality and personality to flourish” (Eisenstein (1983,p.140) as there seems to be a consistency in the names of the writers of the opinion articles analysed, each expressing their biases for

their political affiliations. These group of writers are not employed directly by the media but have wielded political influence through their writings and status, from articles published over time. They operate as the symbiotic relationship from the newspapers which are often in agreements with their line of arguments.

**Photo news** at (6.41 per cent, n=904) had several instances of coloured prints, bold use of the pictures, (most front-page story publications analysed had a photo relating to the political news) and there were strategic placements on the front page, centre, and the back page with the least length being the quarter of a page. (See Tables 7.4. & 7.18) One can conclude that the aim of the 'photo news was to sell the papers' (McCabe, 2008,p.184).

Newspapers have from the mid-nineteenth century used photography to attract attention. Technological innovations in printing have also helped the advancement of its use, making photographs more accessible, easily editable for journalists (Caple, 2010). A main concept associated with the target use of photographs is to sustain the authoritative claim to a factual account of reality: 'news images are used to support journalistic authority' although a portrayal of the ephemeral and subjectivity is sometimes depicted (Bock 2008, p.170). Scholars have concluded that photograph has the power to shape discourse (Fiske 1996; Harley 1992, in Bock, 2008).

In the analysed Nigerian newspapers, articles about politicians, government representatives, political rallies, were illustrated with photographs and most were placed on the front pages (See Table 7.18). These photographs used captions and headings to further attract readers' attention. Specifically, in one of the three Nigerian newspapers analysed a particular contestant was predominantly featured on the pages of the newspaper. The aspirant won the election in that state during the 2015 elections. These facts show that the Nigerian newspapers sometimes use photographs as a form of 'slanting' presentation of news. Most of the illustrations do not portray a human angle dimension of the political discourse. It stylistically encourages a form of exclusion where lack of equal access predominates and there is bracketing of inequalities of status (Fraser, 1992).

**TABLE 7.4 PHOTONEWS LENGTH.**

Length	Photo News
up to 1 page	41
up to 1/4	688
up to 1/2 page	150
up to 3/4 page	18
Above 1	7

**Advertisements** at **(6.38 per cent, n=899)** generated great financial returns for Nigerian newspapers during the 2015 election. The more elaborate discussion was undertaken in the analysis of the interviews of Nigerian journalists in the interview chapter. But the following tables reflect the extent of the use and publication of advertisements.

**TABLE 7.5 LENGTH OF ADVERTISEMENTS**

LENGTH	Advert
up to 1 page	742
up to 1/4	10
up to 1/2 page	85
up to 3/4 page	9
Above 1	53
Total	899

If we are to consider the fact that space is a commodity in the newspapers, then one can marvel at the financial gain accrued to the newspapers during this period, within an estimated value of 'N4.9Billion (195,115,533.48 NZD) spent on election advertisements' (Ekwujuru, 2015).

**TABLE 7.6 PLACEMENTS OF ADVERTISEMENTS.**

Row Labels	Advert
Back	0
Centre	26
Front	10
Inside	863
Side-lines	0
Grand Total	899

Table 7.6 also shows the strategic placements of the advertisements. Most were placed on the inside page to allow for enough space. For example, table 7.5 shows these large advertisements which is Up to 1 page, n=742) were on the inside page because it is not possible to have a full-page space for all those advertisements on the front page. Hence the advertisements were moved to the inside page to accommodate more space and generate more income. The advertisements were also characterised by large font prints, capturing images and were often vindictive of other political parties, which is also referred to as “negative or attacking advertisements” (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016,p.238).

The fifth type of article, **supplements at 3.46 per cent, n=487**) is justified by the phrase ‘give the readers what they want (Brett & Holmes, 2008:190). This phrase was well exploited as almost all other genres of reporting like sports, entertainment, and finance was featuring political news during this period. There was no aspect or different themes in the newspaper that was spared from one form of political news or information during the 2015 Nigerian election. Besides, it also confirms the fact that supplements can serve both editorial and commercial functions.

The sixth type of articles are the **features at (3.13 per cent, n=441)**. Features are distinctive in the opportunities they provide for political journalists to engage their readers, as has been common in the world of journalism for more than 250 years (Niblock, 2008). The analysed features in Nigerian newspapers reflected all the variants of issues discussed and were lengthy (See Table 7.19). A total of

n=436 were written on spaces ranging from the half page (up to 1/2 page) to Above 1 page.

**TABLE 7.7 LENGTH OF FEATURES.**

Length	Features
up to 1 page	240
up to 1/4	5
up to 1/2 page	48
up to 3/4 page	52
Above 1	96
Grand Total	441

**Advertorials** were at (2.28 per cent n=321) which like advertisements are paid for directly by the newspaper clients but published in the form of long letters or articles. With mostly a space length of Above 1 (See Table 7.8), it was apparent Nigerian newspapers exploited this means to their commercial advantage.

**TABLE 7.8 LENGTH OF ADVERTORIALS.**

Length	Advertorials
up to 1 page	261
up to 1/4	2
up to 1/2 page	10
up to 3/4 page	1
Above 1	47
Total	321



Advertorials were mostly used by the groups or corporate organisations as a veiled form of campaigning for their interests in the election. Most of the groups consist of subgroups of political parties, ethnic groups, numerous progressive movements, interests' groups, labour factions who engaged in the form of public relations for themselves and their political interests. Although, there were other forms of influencing the news in favour of particular interests, for example, inducing the journalists with money. This and other such ways of monetary influence are discussed in Chapter 11.

This development naturally could have been used as a positive indication of citizenship engagement. But from the analysis of the content of the advertorials, it often follows the trend of some advertisements because some were not objectively written or focus on issues germane to the furtherance of the democratic goals. Instead, advertorials are used as the source of side-taking as confirmed by Table 7.9 which shows the origins of most advertorials. See Table 7.9 for the sources of advertorials.

**TABLE 7.9 SOURCES OF ADVERTORIALS.**

<b>Row Labels</b>	<b>Advertorials</b>
Citizens	17
Corporate Org./ Groups	125
Govt. Rep	102
International org	0
News agency	0
Political party	42
Politicians	35
Voting agency	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>321</b>

The **Cartoons** takes the eight position at **1.82 per cent (n=257)**. Cartoons traditionally perform the editorial function of criticising society, and in the Nigerian newspapers' scenario, it was no different. The cartoons were ironically crafted to portray the political trends during the period of the election even in Nigeria (Jimoh, 2011). The newspapers or news agency were the primary source (See Table 7.10) of the cartoons, having employ their journalistic liberties to ensure this. There was generally one editorial cartoon on

each day, as was the case in New Zealand. The focus of the cartoons was on political issues during the period of the election studied more than any other point.

**TABLE 7.10 SOURCES OF CARTOONS PUBLISHED DURING THE 2015 NIGERIAN ELECTION**

Row Labels	Cartoons
Citizens	3
Corporate Org./ Groups	2
Govt. Rep	10
International org.	0
<b>News agency</b>	<b>241</b>
Political party	0
Politicians	0
Voting agency	1
Grand Total	257

The table above confirms that the major sources of cartoons are the news agencies. The reason is that the radical role of the media is actualised by satirizing political issues in society, in this instance the 2015 Nigerian election. There were different forms of ‘comparison, imagery: reliance on nuances, double meanings, allusions, puns, irony and humour’ (Seymour-Ure, 2008) to express several themes. A dominant theme was corruption, about the government political activities (See Table 7.11).

**TABLE 7.11 CORRUPTION AS A MAJOR THEME OF CARTOONS.**

Nigeria	Advert	Advertorials	Cartoons	Editorial
Total	6%	2%	2%	2%
AGRIC	0%	0%	0%	
BQU	0%	0%	0%	0%
BUILD & RECON	0%	0%	0%	
COMM	0%	0%	0%	0%
CORPT / CRIME	0%	0%	<b>1%</b>	0%

From the table above, the theme of corruption among 20 other themes take up 1 per cent of the 1.82 per cent allotted to cartoons. This shows that the newspapers used the satirical powers of cartoons to criticise the ills of the government. The justification for this is that:

Unlike news stories, which are written in accordance with journalistic norms of balance and fairness, editorial cartoons are opinionated, often biting so. By using humour as a device, cartoonists can communicate critical and controversial messages (Trimble et al., 2010,P.71).

The newspapers are able to bring to the public sphere issues that are germane in their representative democracy. They often hide under the excuse of being a cartoon to point out areas of controversies, challenges and issues that are prominent in the public sphere. For example, Nigerian newspapers analysed several cartoons featuring government activities, the insurgency. This depiction is aside from one of the predominant issues depicted during the 2015 presidential elections, which was corruption.

**Editorials** follow closely on the heels of the Cartoons since they perform the same journalistic function at 1.16 per cent, **n=164**. The editorial as discussed earlier is where the newspaper is at liberty to perform its radical role and act as an adjudicator on behalf of the electorates challenging the government on their inadequacies. There were various issues that the editorial of Nigerian newspapers was focused on critique, such as Government bureaucracy, Economics and finance, Corruption and crime and others (See Table 7.12). Another dimension to the function of editorials is the opportunity for media

biases and slanting (Druckman & Parkin, 2005; Kalla & Aronow, 2015). However, the levels of media bias in the editorial are outside the scope of the study.

**TABLE 7.12 EDITORIALS ON GOVT.POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**

Types of articles	Editorial Numbers in
AGRIC	
BQU	14
BUILD & RECON	0
COMM	3
CORPT / CRIME	11
ECONS / FIN	21
EDUC	10
ENVIR	
GAP	6
GTMC	1
HEALTH	0
INAUG	3
INSG / SECU	11
INT POLS	11
MAN / TECH	1
MIL / PLCE	0
PEP	15
ROL	12
S / E / C	0
TRANS / RC	12
WEL / UNEMP	2
Total	137

**TABLE 7.13 EDITORIALS ON REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY	Editorial
Elections Education	2
Elections ELT	12
Electorate Reactions EOU	11
Political Parties PPA	1
Voters Registration VRG	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>

The last and least among the types of articles are the **Letters to the editors** at **(1.04 per cent, n=147)**. This type of items appears not to have a significant place in Nigerian newspapers during the 2015 election. Part of the structural transformation to the public sphere came in the form of reorganisation of the access by the public (Calhoun, 1992). The access is through the digital media, online structures like the website pages of the newspapers and social media forms e.g. Facebook, Twitters, and Instagram. These media enable a net worked population to have access to the public sphere and contribute to public discourse (Fuchs, 2010; Shirky, 2011). Lack of affordability is one of the reasons why many potential readers are unable to access and read newspapers. The postal systems in Nigeria has also so much degenerated that sending letters is not a common act. The different newspapers analysed however daily publish the same versions of news stories on politics and other genres from their hard copies on their websites. Readers often have access on their mobile devices through subscriptions charged to their mobile operators. This form of usage is common in Nigeria. Although this study did not analyse these websites, during the analysis, the letters to the editor analysed were mostly found in NGB newspaper in the form of e-letters which were extracted from the online version of the papers and then published in the newspapers. This inclusion in the newspaper provides an opportunity for the expression of citizen's voices and from being stifled and excluded as they were referred to dismissively as the 'ordinary man on the street' whose opinion is not valued (Personal communication, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

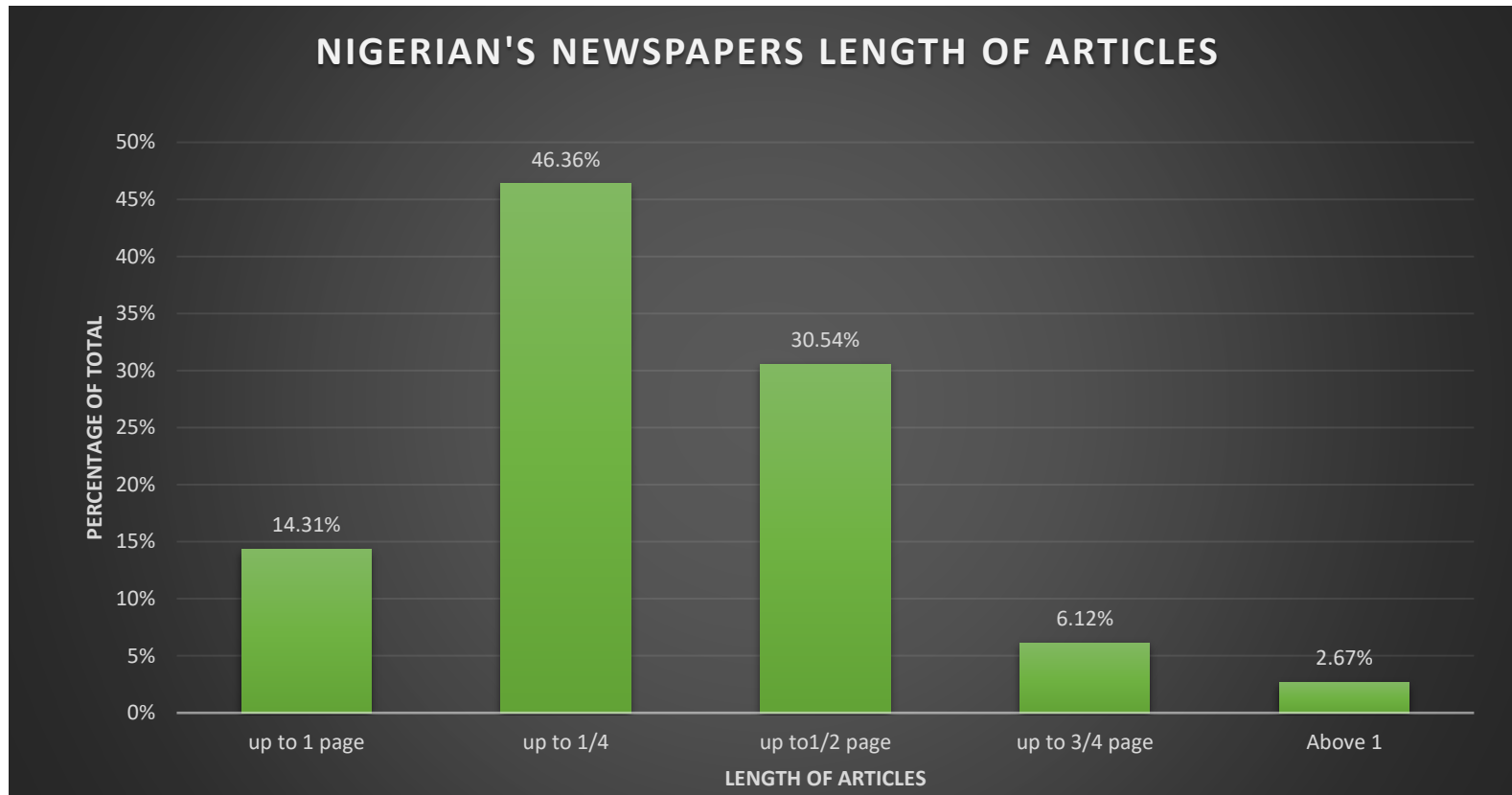
### **7.3 LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**

The importance and relevance of the lengths of the articles analysed in the thesis have been established earlier. Among such use is that it reflects the 'intensiveness' (Collins et al., 2006) of the articles published. In another word, it shows the 'duration' and 'the quantity' (Godefroidt et al., 2016) of the articles written. Length in newspapers can also be used to support one of the identified roles of the media which is framing since it is mediated by 'how' issues are presented in the news (Collins et al., 2006; Gavin, 2014). This theory has been discussed elaborately in chapter 5 of the thesis.

**TABLE 7.14 LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**

Length of Articles	Percentages
up to 1/4	46.36%
up to 1/2 page	30.54%
up to 1 page	14.31%
up to 3/4 page	6.12%
Above 1	2.67%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 7.2 LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**



The description of the length of Nigerian newspapers shows the highest category of the measure is up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  page **range at 46.36 per cent, (Table 7.12 & Figure 7.2)**. The percentage implies that almost half of the articles analysed from Nigerian newspapers were within this range. The next length range is up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  page **at 30.54 per cent, (Table 7.12 & Figure 7.2)**. The space is equivalent to half of a full page of political news during the 2015 Nigerian election. The third range is **up to 1 page at 14.31 per cent, (Table 7.12 & Figure 7.2)** which implies the dedication of a full page to the different types of articles in the newspapers. The fourth length is up to  $\frac{3}{4}$  page which is equivalent to the  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a page which has **at 6.12 per cent (Table 7.12 & Figure 7.2)**. In the least position of space range is the **Above 1 range at 2.67 per cent, (Table 7.12 & Figure 7.2)**.

To understand this space allocation better, it is expedient also to explore the types of articles that were reflected within this range of spacing in the newspapers. The comparison justifies the level of usage of the space about the 2015 Nigerian election. **Table 7.15** shows the different types of articles analysed from Nigerian newspapers and their respective length. The table intends to portray this level of analysis to show to what extent details, intensity of each type of articles received from the newspapers.

For example, for news stories, most of the story length was within the range of up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  (34.44 per cent) and up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  page (21.40 per cent). The justification for this use of the shorter length could be from the fact that most Nigerian newspapers news stories did not employ the use of what scholars refer to as 'book-length journalism' (Ricketson, 2010). But rather they practised what is known as the 'hard news' (Plasser, 2005) which only allows for strict adherence to the Inverted pyramid structure of the 5w's and H. This type of news stories does not require much length usage as there is no element of backgrounding or descriptive form of writing.

Opinion articles, however, show a pattern like the news stories as the length of this type of article range more between up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  (3.92 per cent) and up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  page (5.15 per cent). This is a reflection that the opinions writings were not a happenstance writing. The implication of this was discussed under types of articles.

Features also reveal the use of a full page, up to 1 page (1.70 per cent) which is over half of the allotted 3.13 per cent space for that type of articles. This also further confirms the assertion that features were penned to reflect a myriad of journalistic activities such as



including researching, interviewing, organising, writing, and marketing which of course requires space (Hutchison, 2008).

Supplements also toe the same line as features and the highest range of length is the up to 1 page at 1.38 per cent from a total of 3.45 per cent spacing used for this type of article.

Advertisements have **5.27 per cent** within the range of **up to 1 page, which is a full page**, while **0.38 per cent for above 1 range** which gives a total of **(5.27+ 0.38 = 5.65 per cent)** from the total of (6.38 per cent) spacing used. The advertorials also used up **1.85 per cent and 0.33 per cent to up to 1 page and above 1 length**, respectively. The figures from advertising and advertorials portrayed confirm further that the Nigerian media published quite a number in the analysed newspapers during the 2015 election. The description of the length of these selected articles shows an allocation of spacing that tends toward the commercial gain through framing of this type of newspapers article. The act of providing information and persuading the electorates and involving all in the democratic process during election was therefore subsumed (Collins et al., 2006).

**TABLE 7.15 LENGTH OF TYPES OF ARTICLES**

<b>Row Labels</b>	<b>Advert</b>	<b>Advertorials</b>	<b>Cartoons</b>	<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Features</b>	<b>Letters to the Editors</b>	<b>News Stories</b>	<b>Opinion Articles</b>	<b>Photo News</b>	<b>Supplements</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>up to 1 page</b>	5.27%	1.85%	0.01%	0.01%	1.70%	0.01%	2.84%	0.96%	0.29%	1.38%	14.31%
<b>up to 1/4</b>	0.07%	0.01%	1.77%	0.16%	0.04%	0.92%	34.44%	3.92%	4.88%	0.17%	46.37%
<b>up to 1/2 page</b>	0.60%	0.07%	0.04%	0.79%	0.34%	0.11%	21.40%	5.15%	1.06%	0.98%	30.55%
<b>up to 3/4 page</b>	0.06%	0.01%	0.00%	0.21%	0.37%	0.01%	3.83%	1.04%	0.13%	0.45%	6.10%
<b>Above 1</b>	0.38%	0.33%	0.01%	0.00%	0.68%	0.00%	0.66%	0.09%	0.05%	0.48%	2.67%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6.38%</b>	<b>2.28%</b>	<b>1.82%</b>	<b>1.16%</b>	<b>3.13%</b>	<b>1.04%</b>	<b>63.17%</b>	<b>11.15%</b>	<b>6.42%</b>	<b>3.45%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

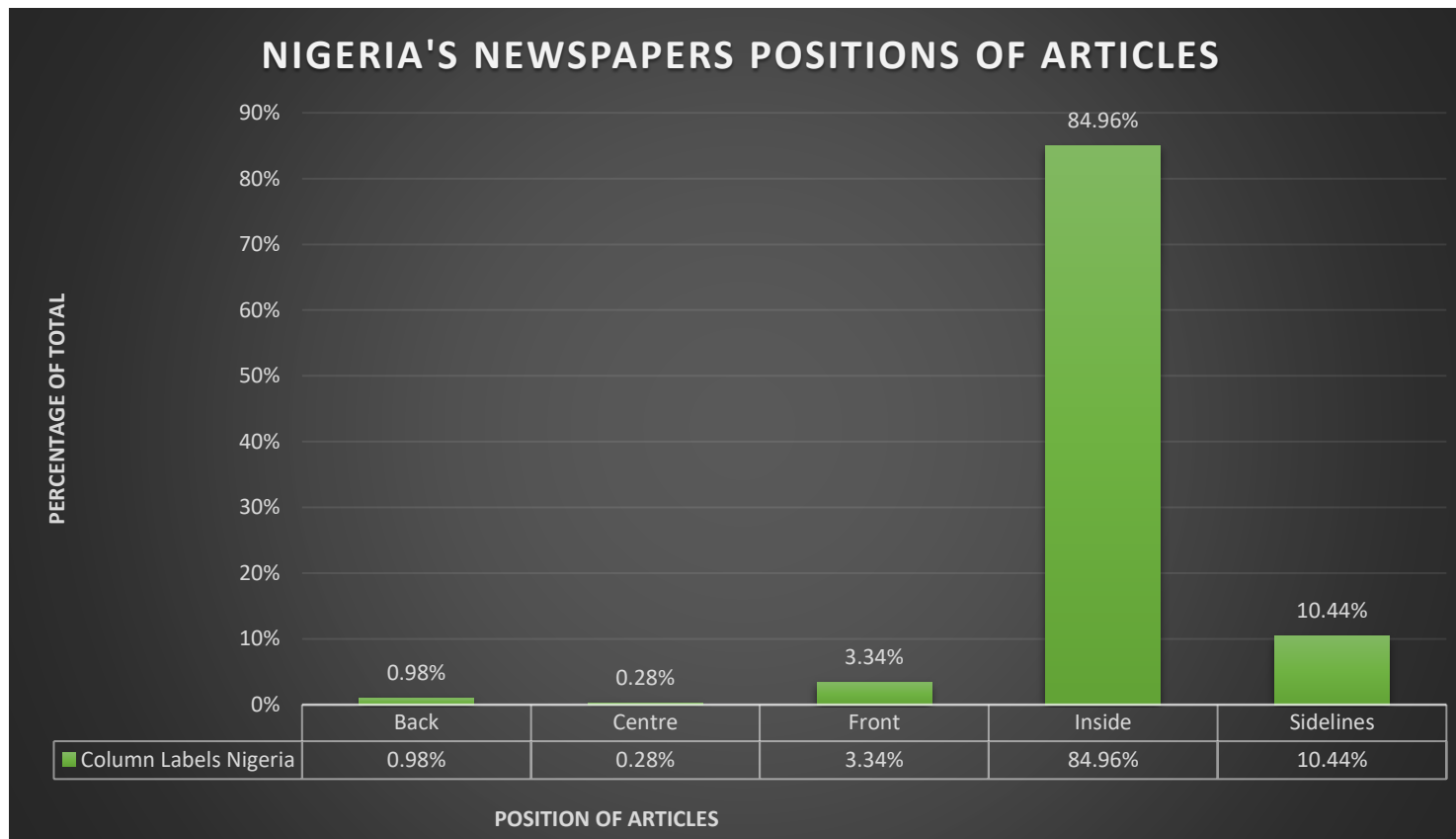
#### **7.4 POSITION OF ARTICLES.**

The position of articles in a newspaper is also very important when examining the levels of analysis of political news during an election. This is because it illustrates the prominence or the issue discussed in the article. In Nigerian newspapers, there were five units of analysis for articles examined same as for New Zealand. Table 7.16 and Figure 7.3 depicts the percentage total for each of this unit.

**TABLE 7.16 POSITIONS OF ARTICLES.**

Position of Articles	Percentage
Back	0.98%
Centre	0.28%
Front	3.34%
Inside	84.96%
Side-lines	10.44%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 7.3 POSITIONS OF ARTICLES.**



From the table and figure above, arguably the **Inside page** has the highest range of percentage at **84.96 per cent**. As noted in the previous chapter, the reason for this is because it has more proportions than any other place in the newspaper. There can only be one front page, one back page and one centre spread in a newspaper, but the inside pages and the side-lines are usually numerous. The **side-lines** at **10.44 per cent** as the position of the articles. The **front page** at **3.34 per cent** while the **back page** at **0.98 per cent** and the least is the centre spread at 0.28 per cent

The above data reveals that in total Nigerian newspapers position more articles on the inside page. But the researcher will endeavour to compare the length of the articles with the position to further show the justification for the prominence level.

#### **TABLE 7.17 LENGTH AND POSITIONS OF TYPES OF ARTICLES IN PERCENTAGE**







Row Labels	 Advert	Advertorials	Cartoons	Editorial	Features	Letters to the Editors	Newstories	Opinion Articles	Photo News	Supplements		
 up to 1 page		5.27%	1.85%	0.01%	0.01%	1.70%	0.01%	2.84%	0.96%	0.29%	1.38%	14.31%
Back		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.58%	0.00%	0.00%	0.58%
Centre		0.04%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%
Front		0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.11%
Inside		5.21%	1.81%	0.01%	0.01%	1.70%	0.01%	2.75%	0.38%	0.28%	1.38%	13.53%
 up to 1/4 page		0.07%	0.01%	1.77%	0.16%	0.04%	0.92%	34.44%	3.92%	4.88%	0.17%	46.37%
Back		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.05%	0.00%	0.06%
Centre		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Front		0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.38%	0.00%	0.66%	0.01%	1.07%
Inside		0.05%	0.01%	1.77%	0.16%	0.04%	0.75%	24.54%	3.73%	4.17%	0.13%	35.35%
Sidelines		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	9.49%	0.18%	0.00%	0.03%	9.87%
 up to 1/2 page		0.60%	0.07%	0.04%	0.79%	0.34%	0.11%	21.40%	5.15%	1.06%	0.98%	30.55%
Back		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.19%	0.01%	0.00%	0.21%
Centre		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
Front		0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.06%	0.00%	0.40%	0.01%	1.48%
Inside		0.60%	0.07%	0.03%	0.79%	0.34%	0.11%	19.81%	4.93%	0.65%	0.95%	28.29%
Sidelines		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.50%	0.03%	0.00%	0.02%	0.55%
 up to 3/4 page		0.06%	0.01%	0.00%	0.21%	0.37%	0.01%	3.83%	1.04%	0.13%	0.45%	6.10%
Back		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.12%	0.00%	0.00%	0.13%
Front		0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.63%
Inside		0.03%	0.01%	0.00%	0.21%	0.37%	0.01%	3.20%	0.92%	0.13%	0.45%	5.32%
Sidelines		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
 Above 1		0.38%	0.33%	0.01%	0.00%	0.68%	0.00%	0.66%	0.09%	0.05%	0.48%	2.67%
Centre		0.14%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.16%
Front		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%
Inside		0.23%	0.33%	0.01%	0.00%	0.68%	0.00%	0.62%	0.09%	0.05%	0.47%	2.47%
Grand Total		6.38%	2.28%	1.82%	1.16%	3.13%	1.04%	63.17%	11.15%	6.42%	3.45%	100.00%

TABLE 7.18 LENGTH AND POSITIONS OF TYPES OF ARTICLES IN NUMBERS

Row Labels	Back	Centre	Front	Inside	Sidelines	
<b>Advert</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>863</b>		<b>899</b>
00-1		6	2	734		742
00-15			3	7		10
00-30				85		85
00-45			5	4		9
Above 1		20		33		53
<b>Advertorials</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>314</b>		<b>321</b>
00-1		5	1	255		261
00-15				2		2
00-30				10		10
00-45				1		1
Above 1		1		46		47
<b>Cartoons</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>256</b>		<b>257</b>
00-1				2		2
00-15				249		249
00-30			1	4		5
Above 1				1		1
<b>Editorial</b>				<b>164</b>		<b>164</b>
00-1				1		1
00-15				22		22
00-30				112		112
00-45				29		29
<b>Features</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>440</b>		<b>441</b>
00-1		1		239		240
00-15				5		5
00-30				48		48
00-45				52		52
Above 1				96		96
<b>Letters to the Editors</b>				<b>123</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>147</b>
00-1				1		1
00-15				105	24	129
00-30				16		16
00-45				1		1
<b>Newstories</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>7175</b>	<b>1411</b>	<b>8901</b>
00-1		1	12	387		400
00-15	1	3	54	3458	1337	4853
00-30	2	1	150	2792	71	3016
00-45	1		84	451	3	539
Above 1			6	87		93
<b>Opinion Articles</b>	<b>126</b>			<b>1415</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1571</b>
00-1	82			53		135
00-15				526	26	552
00-30	27			694	4	725
00-45	17			130		147
Above 1				12		12
<b>Photo News</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>151</b>	<b>745</b>		<b>904</b>
00-1			1	40		41
00-15	7		93	588		688
00-30	1		57	92		150
00-45				18		18
Above 1				7		7
<b>Supplements</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>486</b>
00-1				194		194
00-15			1	19	4	24
00-30			1	134	3	138
00-45				63		63
Above 1		1		66		67
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>11971</b>	<b>1472</b>	<b>14091</b>

This study has established earlier that the position in a newspaper with the highest prominence is the front page and articles on a space length of up to 1 page and Above 1 has the most intense or quality portrayal. It is interesting to, therefore, describe the types of articles that fall under this segment.

For example, in **Table 7.18**, advertisements and advertorials have a total of n=734 & n=255 at length of up to 1 page on the inside page. Apart from this, there is absolutely no proof that Nigerian media focus on fulfilling their commercial role more than the democratic role. Media products are expected to fulfil dual functions and the professionalism of every journalist or media organisations is tested when there is need for a depiction of balance (Hardy, 2014b; Herman & McChesney 1997). The market model of the media should not predominate over the public good or public sphere functions as much as possible (Croteau & Hoynes 2006). With the myriads of political issues in an election year, it is important for the media to portray as much as possible key issues for public engagement. The media should never give the impression that monetising space in newspapers is their priority (Bogart, 1995). Newspaper regulations also play a fundamental role here as the media should be able to act within given boundaries in an election year. The Nigerian scene is that these rules are often ignored as more revelations reveals from the interview sections in chapter 11.

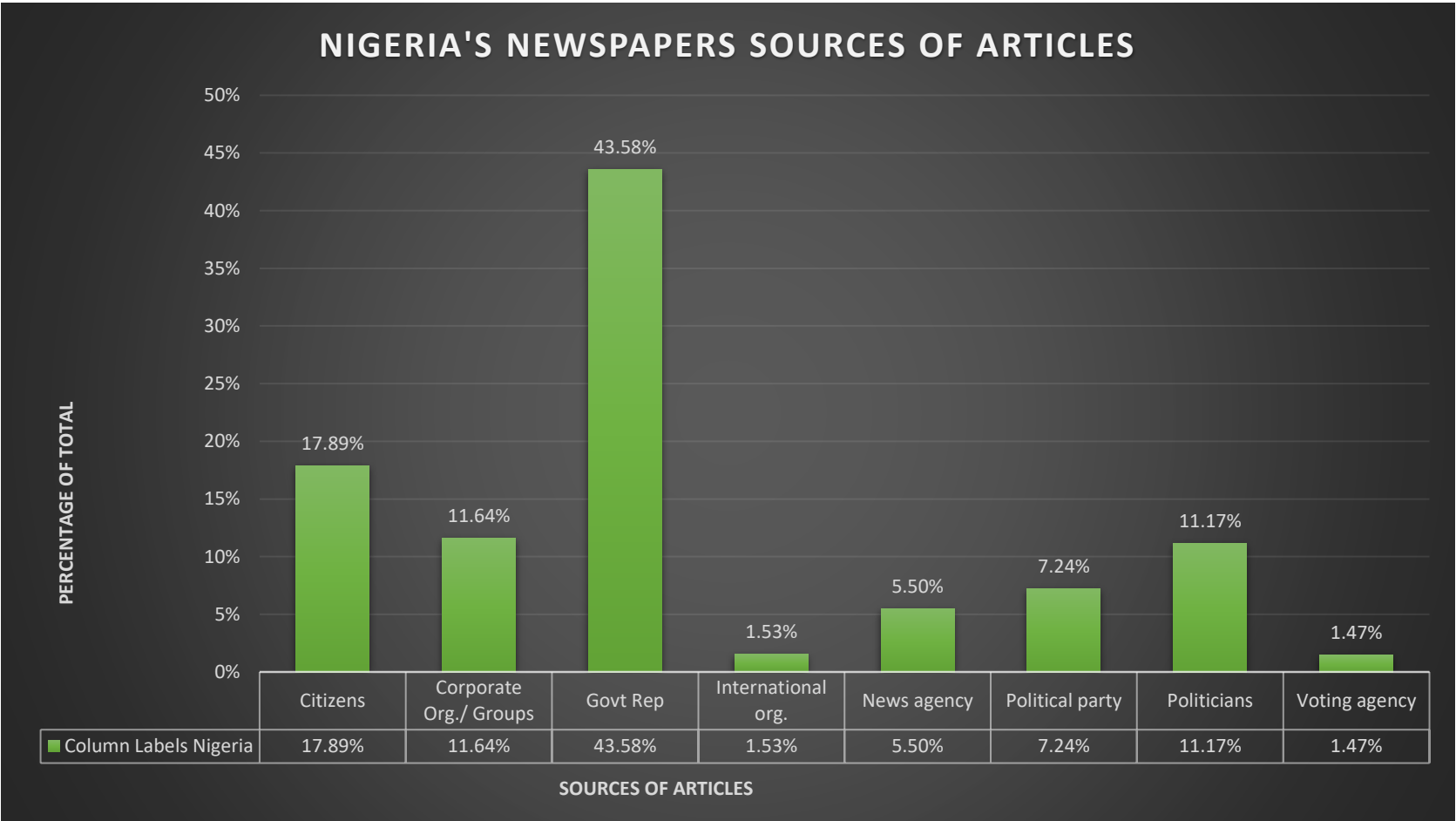
## **7.5 SOURCES OF ARTICLES.**



**TABLE 7.19 SOURCES OF ARTICLES.**

Sources of Articles	Percentages
Government Representative	43.58%
Citizens	17.89%
Corporate Org./ Groups	11.64%
Politicians	11.17%
Political party	7.24%
News agency	5.50%
International Org.	1.53%
Voting agency	1.47%
Total	100.00%

FIGURE 7.4 SOURCES OF ARTICLES.




Sources have been established in several studies to be expedient in an election situation where they provide truth or information validation and journalists often use these to display political knowledge (Fraile & Iyengar, 2014). Nigerian newspapers used all the eight variants of sources provided by this study. But as seen in Table 7.16 and Figure 7.4, these sources reflect different degrees of usage. The source with the highest percentage in Nigerian newspapers is **the Government representative at 43.58 per cent**. The items comprises of the mention of government such as Nigerian President, Vice president, States governors, Local Chairpersons, Ministers, official government sources. Nigerian newspaper journalists often use such as their primary sources.

This type of source is also referred to as 'experts' or 'elite' (Freedman et al., 2007) sources. Such references are needed to promote the framing and agenda building intentions of the various newspapers (Entman, 2007). Another reason is that such credible source, help to influence information consumers or readers, thereby increasing the sales of the papers especially the tabloid type under which category Nigerian Newspapers falls (Fraile & Iyengar, 2014).

The second source cited in the order of ranking are **the citizens at 17.89 per cent**. Although, this percentage may appear far behind the government representative source at 25.89 per cent difference, yet it is commendable that the citizen's voice has such a significant position in the political discourse from Nigerian newspapers.

However, an examination of the type of articles in particular that uses the citizens as the source may further validate or contradict the above assertion.

**Table 7.20.SOURCES OF ARTICLES IN NUMBERS**

Row Labels	 Advert	Advertorials	Cartoons	Editorial	Features	Letters to the Editors	Newstories	Opinion Articles	Photo News	Supplements	
Citizens	18	17	3		45	144	649	1428	81	136	2521
Corporate Org./ Groups	295	125	2		12	1	1104	19	42	40	1640
Govt Rep	273	102	10	14	147	1	4971	31	468	122	6139
International org.				3	5		184		21	2	215
News agency			241	147	181	1	61	53	32	59	775
Political party	177	42			15		674	17	81	15	1021
Politicians	133	35			36		1085	22	157	106	1574
Voting agency	3		1				173	1	22	7	207
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>899</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>8901</b>	<b>1571</b>	<b>904</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>14092</b>

It is evident from Table 7.20 that opinion articles have the highest usage of the citizens as sources. While analysing Nigerian newspapers and as noted under the types of articles, the opinion writers were also elitist or otherwise known as professional writers. The example is evident in the length of the articles written (See Tables 7.2 & 7.3). There was a relatively small number of columnists or opinion writers who wrote regularly for the newspapers. It is therefore difficult to conclude that the opinions expressed by these 'so-called citizens' reflect the mindset of the rest of Nigerian population. More evidence to this assertion is provided from responses to the in-depth interviews conducted in subsequent chapters.

The third in rank of sources are **the corporate organisation and groups at 11.64 per cent**. Groups and corporate organisations always strive to influence the political discussion in their interest in any democracy or election (Dür & Mateo, 2016a). Such an opportunity is also well exploited during Nigerian 2015 election. The newspapers' journalists used this type of source in their news stories after the Government representative's source (See Tables 7.19. & 7.20). This type of reference could be categorised as either from the 'insider group or the outsider group' (Dür & Mateo, 2016b,p.662) depending on the political issues reported. During the 2015 election, because Nigeria is divided into three dominant geopolitical zones, some of these groups use their ethnic affiliations and sentiments to attract political discussion in their favour. Such names of the three groups that featured prominently are The Arewa group, The Afenifere group, The Ohaneze Igbo group. There were also pressure or labour groups such as: Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), human rights organisations such as the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), as well as pro-democracy groups such as the Campaign for Democracy (CD), Academic Staff Union of Universities, (ASUU), National Association of Nigerian Students (Abimbola, 2002). Some of these groups also sponsored advertisements and advertorials (See Table 7.20) with slanted messages indicating their range of interest during the election.

The fourth most common type of source analysed from Nigerian newspapers were the **politicians at 11.17 per cent**. During the election, Nigerian democracy saw an increase in some selected few otherwise known as the 'professional politicians' (Aberbach et al.,

2009). The news stories also had high use of these politicians as sources. The stories are often about scandals, carpet crossings, and incisive statements to attract media attention or outright placement of advertisements by some of these politicians. In all, the influence of Nigerian politicians as sources of news and other types of articles (See Table 7.20) in the political were evident during the 2015 election.

The fifth type of source is the **political parties at 7.24 per cent**. In any representational democracy, the political parties often play an indispensable role (Alcantara-Saez, 2012; Kölln et al., 2015). Nigerian political parties boast one of the largest of such groups in Africa. As many as twenty political parties were active in the 2015 election. Party scandals, very powerful opposition in the form of the Alliance for Progressive Congress (APC) and the party in power, the People Democratic Party (PDP) also dominated the newspaper coverage (Aniche, 2015). Each political party uses the advantage of aligning with national newspapers in attacking the other through advertisements and advertorials as discussed earlier.

The sixth source is the **news agency at 5.50%**. The low percentage of the source shown in the previous chapter, is because journalists also cite themselves as sources in news stories and other types of articles that they might have experienced first-hand (Armstrong, 2004). See also Table 7.19 & 7.20.

The **seventh-ranking type of source is the International organisation at 1.53 per cent**. Very often in the election in emerging democracies such as Nigeria, several international organisations play the role of observing the election as a way of validation of the process (Chand, 1997; Kelley, 2009; Kelley, 2012). Elections time often have foreign observers monitoring the election or reporting on it.

**In the least and eight ranks is the voting agency at 1.47 per cent**. The role of the voting agency has often been significant. They are expected to perform such functions as political parties' registration, election education, electorate registration and election conduct and declaration of result. They also act as witnesses in resolving electoral conflicts (Aiyede, 2008). Therefore, from Table 6.17, journalists cite voting agency as a source in the writing of their news stories.

## **7.6 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

The analysed Nigerian newspapers examine from the perspective of the twenty variants of Government political activities. The table and figure below show different ranges of the government political activities.

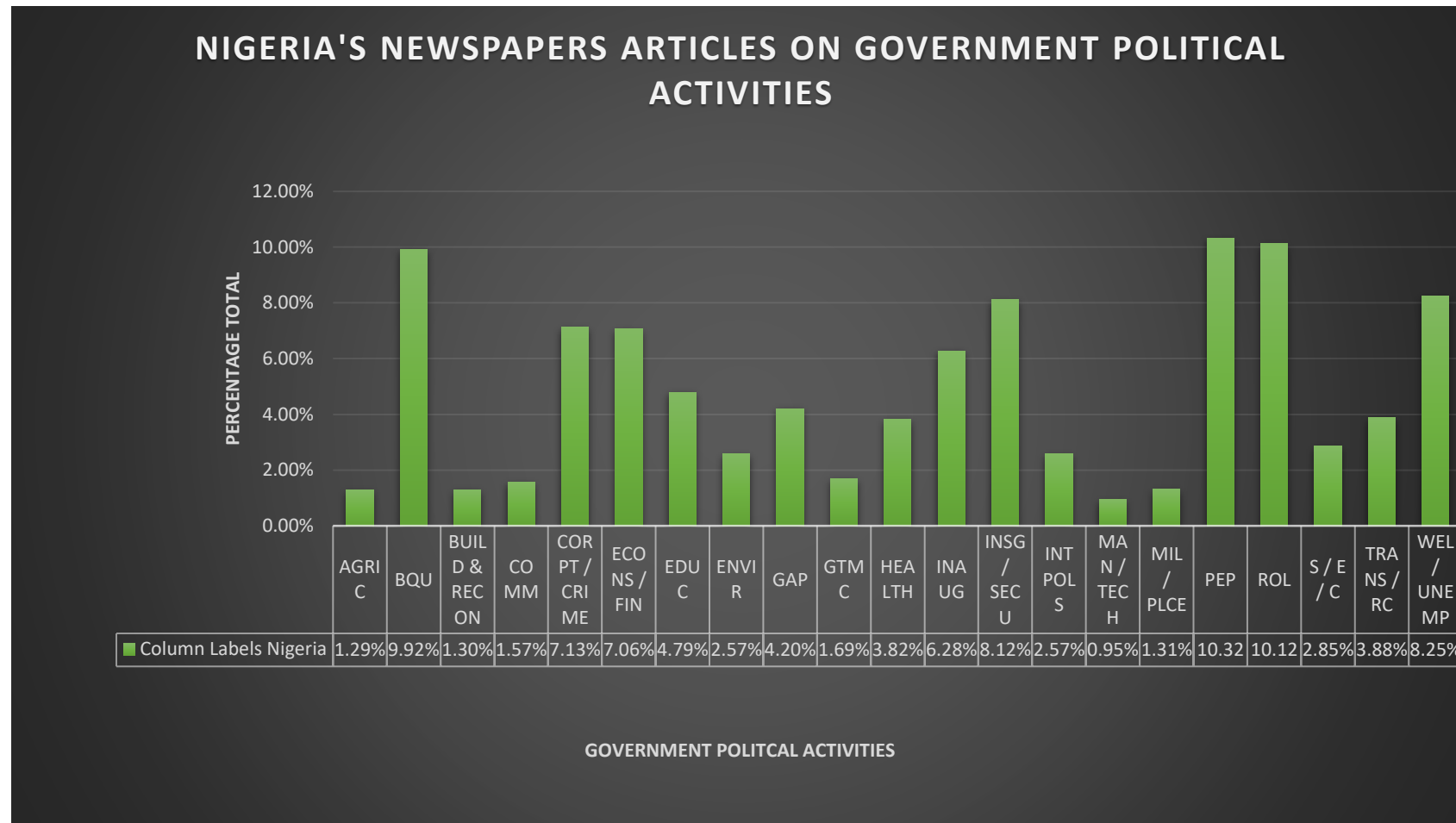
**TABLE 7.21 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

Political Activities	Percentages
POWER/ELECTRICITY/PETROLEUM	10.32%
THE RULE OF LAW	10.12%
BUREAUCRATIC ACTIVITIES	9.92%
WELFARE / UNEMPLOYMENT	8.25%
INSURGENCY / SECURITY	8.12%
CORRUPTION / CRIME	7.13%
ECONOMICS / FINANCE	7.06%
INAUGURATION	6.28%
EDUCATION	4.79%
GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT	4.20%
TRANSPORTATION / ROAD CONSTRUCTION	3.88%
HEALTH	3.82%
SOCIAL / ENTERTAINMENT / CULTURE	2.85%
ENVIRONMENT	2.57%
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	2.57%
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND CORPORATIONS	1.69%
COMMUNICATION	1.57%
MILITARY / POLICE	1.31%
BUILDING & RECONSTRUCTION	1.30%
AGRICULTURE	1.29%
MANUFACTURING / TECHNOLOGY	0.95%
Total	100.00%





FIGURE 7.5 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.



The highest ranked government political activities focus on the analysed Nigerian newspapers was on **Power/electricity/petroleum** at **10.32 per cent** coverage. During the period analysed, three months before the general election and three months after the general election, a crisis in the power/energy industry emerged. By power, we mean electricity and petroleum. The first significant cause was by a drop in the prices of crude oil which is Nigerian primary export product but also referred to as a 'curse' (Edame & Efeiom, 2013). What worsens this further was the drop in the value of the dollars price in which crude oil trading is conducted, thereby causing Nigeria to have a drastic reduction in her main source of revenue (Kareem et al., 2012; Patience, 2016). Nigeria sells the crude oil at a cheap naira rate but imports back petroleum, at a higher dollars exchange rate. The fallout is the inability to import enough petroleum products to meet the energy demands of Nigerians such as road transportation and powering industrial engines. Although Nigeria exports crude oil, the irony is that she imports most of her petroleum products. Lack of enough revenue from the sale of the crude oil therefore resulted in insufficient funds to import enough petroleum products to meet demand (Patience, 2016). There was also inadequate electricity supply all through the country. Lack of regular electricity is an endemic problem in Nigeria. But this was compounded by the dry season (October, November, December, January) where dry wind and the Harmattan are rife. The humid wind dried up the hydropower generator which is the main source of electricity. Nigerian electricity is hydro-energy generated (Aliyu et al., 2015; Aliyu et al., 2013; Iwayemi, 2008; Olugbenga et al., 2013). These issues thereby were exploited through political discussion as, according to the opposition, it reflected the inadequacies of the incumbent government.

The rule of law **and Judiciary** was also a significant focus at 10.12 per cent. This figure reflects coverage of numerous issues within the National assembly in Nigeria during this period. Nigeria operates a bi-cameral legislature, with an upper and lower house, these often experience inter-rivalry in their internal communication process (Suberu, 2015). There was so much focus on the Senate, the Federal House of Representative and the judiciary in the accusations before the election about the Presidential candidates of the opposition party not being qualified to contest for the 2015 election (Owen & Usman, 2015).

The third in rank is the **Bureaucratic government activity** at 9.88 per cent. This third focus of government activity was so because the Executive consisting of the incumbent

President and the State Governors featured prominently during the 2015 election (Watts, 2015).

At fourth, fifth and sixth roles, the focus of the press also related to three issues affecting the electorate in the build-up to the election. The fourth in ranking is the **welfare /unemployment** at 8.25 per cent. The problem of unemployment especially youth unemployment was dominant in the political discourse (Akande, 2014; Osumah, 2016). There were different last minute moves by the government to rectify this. Of course, the opposition party criticised the trend. The next in rank in the order of volume of coverage of government's political activities is **Insurgency and security** at 8.12 per cent coverage. This fifth issue also prevails as a political discussion because of the terrorist group known as Boko Haram (Oyewole, 2015; Schoemaker, 2015). This group held to ransom three states in the Northern part of Nigeria and was involved in the abduction of over 250 schoolgirls from their school compound (Peters, 2014; Zenn, 2014). The incidence generated a high level of international and national public outcry against the ruling political party (Owen & Usman, 2015). The next in the order of portrayal is the focus on **corruption and crime** which has a percentage of 7.13 per cent. Corruption is endemic in Nigeria, from embezzlement of public funds, fuel subsidy scandals, elections rigging and violence, and it comes in variants of issues (Lewis & Kew, 2015; Nwankwo, 2014; Orji, 2014; Ribadu, 2006). It is impossible for it not to loom large in political discussion on government activities especially during an election period (Akanbi, 2004; Egbewole & Imam, 2015).

**Economics and finance** rates 7.06 per cent, as part of the focus on government political activities. As a result of the leading export crisis, there was significant concern about Nigeria's current and future economic status during and after the election (Onuoha et al., 2015; Usman, 2016).

**Inauguration of newly elected officials** was at 6.28 per cent (LeBas, 2017; Omotoso, 2014). Due to the loss of the Presidential position, from the ruling party(PDP) to her opposition( APC), inauguration of newly elected officials was also discussed during the 2015 election by Nigerian newspapers (Olajoke, 2015).

**Education** also featured among the examined government political activities in the thesis at 4.75 per cent coverage. Amidst dwindling quality of education, several issues emanated

from the political discourse during the election (Anaduaka & Okafor, 2013; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2015).

The next in the ranking of the government political activities about the role of the media is the focus of **Government appointments** at 4.20 per cent. The theme is a result of the need to appoint various officials into the three tiers of Government, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. Nigerian governments usually reward party faithful and supporters during the election with such appointments.

**Transportation and Road construction** had 3.85 per cent coverage. Nigerian roads have a history of inadequate maintenance due to many factors. Among the causes are environmental issues and soil types (Onuigbo & Babatunde, 2014; Oraegbune et al., 2015). The problem poses many challenges to the government as death tolls on Nigerian roads are alarming (Gana & Emmanuel, 2014).

**Health** also received the attention of both the government and the media at 3.82 per cent. In a country where life expectancy for the female in 2010 was at 56.4yrs and males at 46.8,yrs, issues of health is an essential topic during any election (Salomon et al., 2013; Sede & Ohemeng, 2015). Moreover, the period of the last polls witnessed the ravaging of the Ebola virus in some parts of West Africa, although Nigeria was spared (Fasina et al., 2014; Gostin et al., 2014; Team, 2014).

The government concern about **social/culture/ entertainment** was also reflected in this study at **2.85 per cent**. The Government of the day was seen to politicise entertainment by reaching out to principal actors and actresses in this industry. The help was rendered in the form of government bailout funds (Abiola, 2016; Adejugbe-Williams, 2016; Ryan, 2014).

**The environment** featured at 2.57 per cent as issues such as air pollution from household cooking, sewage disposal challenges amongst others also influenced concerns (Gujba et al., 2015; Olarinmoye et al., 2016).

**International politics** also featured among Nigerian Government's focus at **2.57 per cent**. Several issues exposed Nigeria to the International community during the last election. One is the antecedent of failed credible elections, the security and insurgency challenges and others (Abdullahi, 2015; de Montclos, 2014).

**Government ministries/corporations/civil service** features next to 1.69 per cent. With about 263 government ministries, parastatals, commissions and agencies, and the rising cost of governance, it was quite impossible for the media not to focus on their role in government activities during the election (Eme & Okeke, 2015; Omoleke & Fayomi, 2015).

**Communication** was at 1.57 per cent coverage. This sector has been successfully deregulated, therefore, was the subject of fewer challenges for the government. Nevertheless, it was reflected in the political discourse in Nigeria especially in consolidating existing achievement, for example, the digital transition for the broadcast media.

**Building and reconstruction** were at 1.30 per cent. There is a high level of housing needs in Nigeria which the newspapers portrayed here. Alongside this need, was also the challenges of standardisation of the building process. There were stories on several instances of building collapse because of faulty construction techniques. Government attention was therefore exploited in this regard (Baba et al., 2015; Ede, 2014; Okolie et al., 2016).

The last two focus on government political activities are **agriculture at 1.27 per cent**. The discussion in agriculture focused more on diversification of Nigerian economy into exporting these products. The minister for agriculture during this election had achieved numerous giants' strides towards the actualisation of the goal that the opposition party also supported (Obilor, 2013; Omonijo et al., 2014; Tersoo, 2014).

**Manufacturing and technology** had the lowest percentage of 0.95 per cent. This sector is majorly dominated by foreign investors. This reality accounts for the limited evaluation of government activities in this area (Adofu et al., 2015).

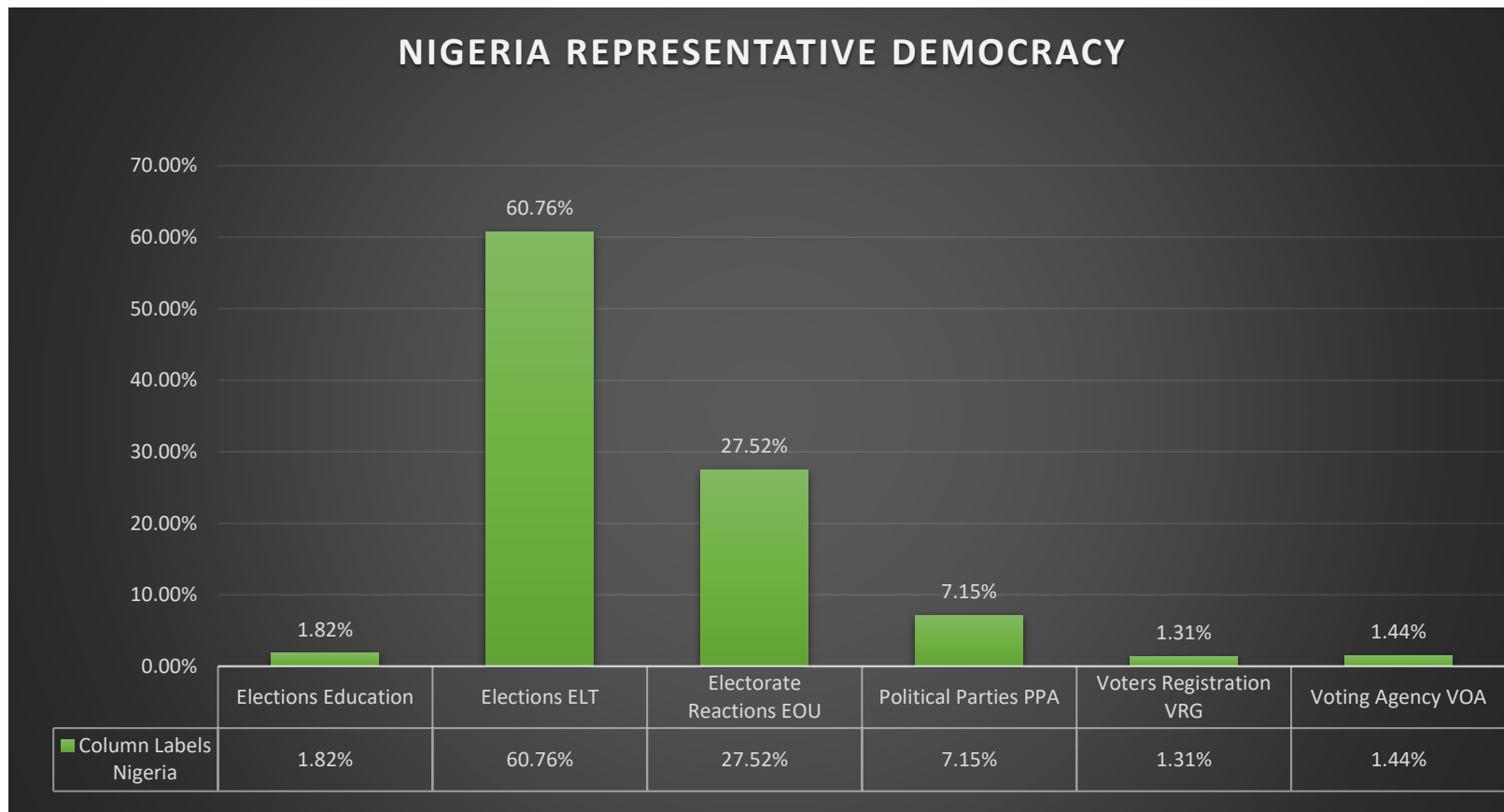
## **7.7 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.**

This section is meant to examine the six units of analysis under representative democracy as reflected by Nigerian newspapers. Table 7.19 and Figure 7.6 shows the different percentage totals for each group.

**TABLE 7.22 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.**

Sum of Representative Democracy Percentages	Column Labels
Row Labels	Nigeria
Elections Education	1.82%
Elections ELT	60.76%
Electorate Reactions EOU	27.52%
Political Parties PPA	7.15%
Voters Registration VRG	1.31%
Voting Agency VOA	1.44%
Grand Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 7.6 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.**





The first and the highest unit of representative democracy is the theme of **the election** at **60.76 per cent**. **Nigerian** newspapers reports hiked during the few days leading to the March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015 general election. There were instances of the increase in the pagination of the various newspapers analysed. Some of the issues exploited campaign speeches, candidates profile examination, challenges of human resources for the election, election violence, postponement of the election date from February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015 to March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015 and so carried out the surveillance functions for the voters (Akintayo, 2015; Adekunle, 2015).

The second issue at **27.52 per cent** is the **electorate reactions to the election (EOU)**. The period of analysis for this theme falls after the day of voting. Some of the responses were in the form of commendation for the conduct, while there were also a series of complaints. One of such was the failure of the card reader machines at some polling units. Nonetheless, the result of the presidential election that ushered in a new party was not contested (Daudu, 2015; Oke, 2015).

Third in rank is the focus of the political parties at **7.15 per cent**. The importance of **political parties** in an election has been established severally in this study and by other scholars (Müller, 2000). In the same vein, they perform an indispensable role in the actualisation of democracy. Nigerian scenario did not differ because the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which was the ruling party and the opposition, Alliance for Progressive Congress (APC) actively tackled each other. Other issues in relations representative democracy before, during and after the election were analysed (Gauja, 2016; INEC, 2017).

The fourth element that featured a theme under representative democracy is the focus on **Election's education at 1.82 per cent**. Nigeria as an emerging democracy has only experienced four general elections in her over 100 years of existence. The civil society is not also as highly active when compared to an established democracy like New Zealand. Most electorates do not know their roles in an election aside voting. All these add to the reason for engaging in Voter education before any election. Nigerian newspapers were actively involved in this with sections such as "Road to 2015", "Politics today" published in some of the papers.

The fifth unit of analysis is the **Voting agency at 1.44 per cent**. The name Independent Electoral Commission (INEC ) and Professor Atahiru Jega was almost synonymous with

the 2015 election. This is because of the challenging role played by the agency and her chairman. From issues such as election date declaration and change, importation and user of the card reader, election result declaration and finally establishing electoral panel to consider complaints.

The last and the least unit of analysis about representative democracy is the **voters' registration at 1.31 per cent**. This includes voters' registration and accreditation which is a basic requirement for a credible election. Moreover, record keeping in the form of voters' information is a significant challenge in Nigeria as such documentation is often riddled with errors. Unfortunately, this is not a predominant issue of discussion as expected from the media with the recorded low percentage. It would have been expected to be higher given the emerging status of democracy in Nigeria.

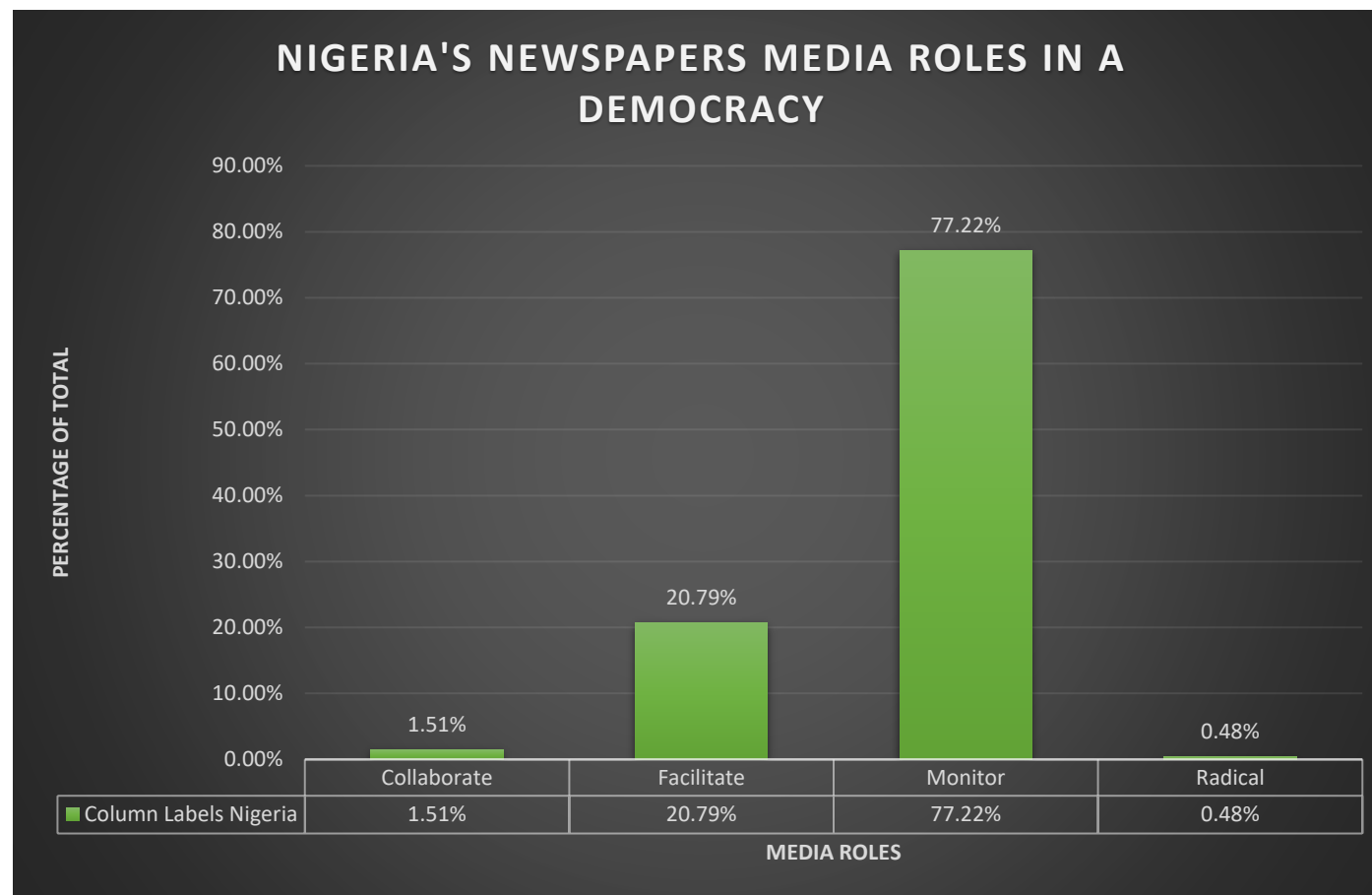
## 7.8 MEDIA ROLES.

The last section in this chapter illustrates the four media roles described under the theoretical framework. These were used in the previous chapter in describing New Zealand newspapers.

**TABLE 7. 23 MEDIA ROLES IN A DEMOCRACY.**

Media Roles	Percentages
Monitor	77.22%
Facilitate	20.79%
Collaborate	1.51%
Radical	0.48%
Total	100.00%

**FIGURE 7.7 MEDIA ROLES IN A DEMOCRACY DURING THE 2014 ELECTION.**



The first and significant role reflected by Nigerian newspapers is the **monitorial role** which has a total of **78.15 per cent**. The percentage shows that the media were functional in their information provision, ( although most articles were short) as a fundamental role in a democracy. The process of selection, presentation, and reporting is solely by the media and here the media played out this role. Also judging by the lists of issues that made the first five listings in Nigerian Newspaper during the 2015 general election which are: Power/electricity/petroleum, The rule of law, BQU, Welfare and Unemployment, Insurgency and security, the press coverage can be said to be a realistic portrayal of crucial matters of public debate. The figures provide some evidence that the media lived up to normative expectations of their social responsibility.

However, the facilitative role which is at **19.63 per cent** is far behind what we had in New Zealand during their elections. The role as stated earlier is where the media provides a forum for deliberation and foster democratic pluralism, promoting a mosaic of diverse cultures and worldviews (Christians et al., 2009). This role is germane to Nigerian democracy which is often termed as emerging. The lack of elaborate publishing of the letters to the editors could account for the low percentage of the facilitative role when compared to New Zealand media.

More so, as established in the literature, Nigeria is a highly heterogeneous society, about 371 tribes, 36 states plus one capital, 774 Local governments, and 182 million people. The media can make herself highly relevant only when this diversity is reflected in their newspapers articles. But at 19.63 per cent, the facilitative role in an election period cannot be said to be significant. The researcher found that items that reflect citizens' views and opinions were not predominant in the analysed newspapers. Of course, this fact is attested to from the interview data from Nigerian journalists in chapter 9.

The collaborative role is at 1.51 per cent, and the radical role at 0.57 per cent are also insignificant. The media did not engage the public, thereby lagging in forming a partnership in the use of the newspapers. The portrayal shows there is a negligible level of mutual trust and a shared commitment. With regards to the radical role, Nigerian newspapers have seemed not to demonstrate a niche for criticism and independence of views and opinions. They cannot be referred to as an “avant-garde” in this society as they were historically and during the military government regimes. They have not acted

during this period of election as instruments of significant revolutionary movements directed at power structures at large (Christians et al., 2009), unlike during the era of the nationalist's movement and the military juntas, when the press were vocal and effected change.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE AND CHALLENGES IN NEWSPAPER'S COVERAGE OF ELECTION IN AN ESTABLISHED DEMOCRACY: PERSPECTIVES FROM 2014 NEW ZEALAND ELECTIONS.**

### **8.1 INTRODUCTION.**

The coverage of elections in whatever type of democracy faces different challenges for media practitioners. For example, a study compares the coverage of the election in three Swedish and US newspapers each and discovered different ways of portraying the presidential election campaigns (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2006). Chapter 4 discussed some other forms of challenges. Because each media system reflects the political system of each country which is not the same, the problems are also varied and relevant to their experiences (Esser & Umbricht, 2013). The historical analysis in chapter 2 and 3 of the thesis have shown that New Zealand and Nigeria possess different democratic and newspaper histories. Newspapers have also established routines for gathering of political information. The routines enable the media to be objective and fair while reflecting the views of every participant in a democracy (Schudson, 2001). Moreover, the role of the forms of the partisan press or liberal press, libertarian, or radical target at ensuring a more viable democratic public sphere (Curran, 2011).

This chapter answers research question 2 which is,

(2.) What are the media practices and challenges among political journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria?

The analysis of interview data in this section focuses on the practices and challenges newspaper journalists and editors face while covering political news in the 2014 September 20<sup>th</sup> election in New Zealand. The thematic technique adopts and evaluates the interview responses in line with the research question 2, which all the themes in this chapter are related to from New Zealand journalists and editors.

**TABLE 8.1 LISTS OF THEMES TREATED UNDER RESEARCH QUESTION 2 IN RELATIONS TO NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS' JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS' PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES IN THEIR COVERAGE OF POLITICAL NEWS.**

Sections	Themes treated
Section 8.2 MAJOR THEME	THE PROCESSES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING IN NEW ZEALAND
Section 8.2.1	QUALITIES USED IN SELECTING POLITICAL NEWS
Section 8.2.2	POLITICAL EDITORS' ROLE
Section 8.2.3	IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL FEATURES
Section 8.2.4	ROUTINES OF POLITICAL NEWS JOURNALISTS
Section 8.3 MAJOR THEME	GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING BY NEW ZEALAND JOURNALISTS.
Section 8.3.1	POLITICAL PARTIES AND NEWS
Section 8.3.2	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESS AND POLITICAL PARTIES
Section 8.4	NEWSPAPER WEBSITE, MEASURING AUDIENCE INTERESTS AND CITIZENS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING.
Section 8.4.1	NEWS MEDIA WEBSITES AND MEASUREMENTS
Section 8.4.2	DISADVANTAGES OF NEWS SITES
Section 8.4.3	CITIZENS AS POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES.
Section 8.5 MAJOR THEME	THE CHALLENGES FACED IN THE GATHERING AND DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL NEWS
Section 8.5.1	CHALLENGES WITH LEVELS OF NEWS ACCEPTABILITY AND POLITICAL PRESSURES
Section 8.5.2	CHALLENGES WITH SOURCING FOR NEWS AND CONTENT
Section 8.5.3	CHALLENGES OF BEING COMMERCIALISED
Section 8.5.4	CHALLENGES WITH HUMAN RESOURCES
Section 8.5.5	CHALLENGES OF DENIAL OF RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

## **8.2 THE PROCESSES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING IN NEW ZEALAND**

The process of political news in newspapers is similar to other forms of communication and media. It usually involves the gathering, selection, production, and presentation of the report. Recently, the term news gathering has been modified by some scholars to news making (Preston, 2008). The process also encompasses the involvement of the journalists and other sources utilised in the production of the news (Ahva, 2010).

Although an attempt at journalism in New Zealand was undertaken in its early days by people from various background and interests, the institutionalisation of the newspaper organisation as a full-fledged commercial entity later established professionalism (Derby, 2014c). This development enabled them to employ full-time journalists who were able to settle into a routine of acceptable practice, which improved with time. In therefore examining the process of political news gathering in New Zealand, journalists and editors confirm a trend of acceptable practice and factors used in selecting the news.

### **8.2.1 QUALITIES USED IN SELECTING POLITICAL NEWS**

The content analysis of New Zealand newspapers in chapter six shows that news stories have a percentage total of 42.62% among the different types of articles. Another exciting discovery was that the issues featured were relevant and pertinent to political discourse around the 2014 September election. The role of information to democracy has been emphasised all through the thesis as it is the means for its sustenance (Babak et al., 2013). Public or civic or citizens journalism enables newspapers to connect with their citizens and create enabling opportunities for engagements in the public sphere (Ahva, 2010; Goode, 2009). The implication is that the choice of news must be appealing to all participants in the democratic sphere. These determining factors, qualities or 'news values' are what journalists consider before selecting or presenting a news item (Allan, 2010). They form through the daily routines of the journalists and editors in the discharge of their duties. Factors such as culture, economic modalities and political institutions, media rituals and public memory help to determine news values (Ettema, 2010). Forms of these values are: 'journalists' handling of anarchy, their narrative forms, new, unprecedented events, and familiar old ways of understanding the world' (Schudson 2007, p.254 in Ettema, 2010).

The response of New Zealand political editor of NZA, NZA1, to the political news process includes a mention of some of the qualities of news which are negativity, conflict and the element of planning (Phillips, 2014). NZA 1 describes these qualities as

*It's never what you think it's going to be, 'so exciting', you are looking for either the insulting thing one leader said to someone. The politicians overreacted to something, some news coverage is very much pre-planned, planning three or four days and for the unexpected (NZA1).*

The statement here reverberates with Ettema's (2010) earlier assertions about journalists' handling of anarchy and unique forms. The fact relates to the interests of the editors in politicians' statements to one another as a news value in a democracy.



Preplanning as also mentioned shows considerations for cultural preferences by their readers.

However, other factors considered in selecting news are:

*... News that will have a wide appeal and a big audience because it's a good story. Always balancing what is news with the resources to cover it. Sometimes bringing in a reporter, a one on one interview, a big break by a reporter, a press statement, reporting what they said to someone else (NZA1).*

By 'wide appeal' the editor implies a news value based on public interest. Political news cannot engage the divergent public unless it captures everyone's interest. A political news event is selected because it is a good story, thereby acts as a public good and common concerns (Fraser, 1992). The news media should not spare any expense in bringing to the fore news stories that will enable a functional public sphere.

*It's what affect most people in the deepest ways. It's about cutting pictures and that you want to get all the best out of the story. It's how you judge which stories to cover. Its instinct, you will know after a while (NZA2).*

NZA2 further emphasises on the professional instinct of political journalists. The statements show that not all happenings in the political sphere should end up as political news. The journalists play a role which permits them to frame the relevant news for their society using self-judgement based on news objectivity, sharpened by their instinct (Omenugha, 2008; Schudson, 2001).

*It all depends on the nature of the event; try to cover the basic issues. An election can be very different especially with the campaign. It's newsworthiness, it that simple, there is nothing else. That is what people want to read. That is what we are here for and at the end of the day (NZB).*

Chapter 2 of this thesis examined the competing narratives and highlights the historical advancement and contribution of newspapers to society. It thus confirms that newsworthiness derives from the public use of the news media at a particular historical moment. For the New Zealand editors who wants to keep the relevance of their newspapers, a political story must, therefore, appeal to the people for it to be newsworthy. This value also makes economic sense as pointed out by NZC.

*I have always been interested in what I called the political economy, what is it in government that changes what is happening in the economy. What is it in the economy that changes what is happening in the government? So why are there certain tax rates and how do we reduce certain rates? A lot of it has been about economic and political stories (NZC).*

Critical political economy emphasises the importance of 'political and economic organisation of communication resources' (Hardy, 2014b). The balance is to think of newspapers as a reflection of power and profit by promoting cultural, political values and also garnering profits for the media organisations. NZC sees political news as an opportunity to achieve both ends. The editors and journalists interviewed have different perspectives to selecting news as is evidenced from the excerpts above. This variation is due to each level of experience, instinct, their background, the news available, and the resources available to cover. But a significant underlying factor is the consideration of the readers and the type of what will have a 'wide appeal', which in other words means the news can attract multi varied readers enough for them to buy.

Aside from relating to the news in general, some specific factors cited are pertinent to the New Zealand 2014 election as responsible for the framing of political news.

These are

*... Party votes polling<sup>12</sup> which is the crucial one, the Conservatives<sup>13</sup> or Dotcom<sup>14</sup> and the Nicky Hager book,<sup>15</sup> we all saw the Hager book as dynamite. It put the Prime Minister under pressure (NZA1).*

Section 3.6 describes the 2014 New Zealand election. During the period analysed, these incidences (see also the footnotes 1-4) spiked political interests and news as both newspapers' portrayals were focused on the issues. The issues generated different genres of media reports aside from news stories, such as features editorials, cartons, and letters to the editors, supplements and even photo news. There was even pre-election polling on the effects on each of the political parties before the elections, and these processes were also reported by the newspapers.

*The policy that the parties are promoting, to know about people who want to be elected members of parliament, what are the issues that are motivating those parties (NZB).*

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<sup>12</sup> New Zealand newspapers usually conduct polls among the electorates before the election asking them to indicate their preferred political parties during the forthcoming election

<sup>13</sup> Aside the two dominant political parties in New Zealand, National party, and Labour Party, there were other parties whose voices were also dominant during election campaigns and who because of the MMP system in New Zealand may succeed in attracting some votes, thereby tilting the power scale.

<sup>14</sup> He is an internet entrepreneur and political activist based in Queenstown New Zealand. He founded a political party, Internet Mana that was active in opposing and accusing the National party. This generated controversies during the 2014 election.

<sup>15</sup> Nicky Hager is an investigative journalist who released a book titled '*Dirty Politics*' containing some taped conversations, emails of the Prime Minister and other politicians. It was assumed that the release of the book close to the day of the election might affect voters' decision

Political parties have always been a dominant participant in any democracy and New Zealand newspapers reports also focused on their campaign issues. Section 8.3 discusses more on the role of political parties and newspapers.

On the other hand, the journalist code named NZC because of his background in economics selects his political news because,

*It tends to be more in-depth policies focused kind of news and how legislation is going through parliament. What are the big political drivers of issues, what are the drivers of the economy that might affect politics? So, we tend to report aggressively on economics statistics. I could call it a news analysis (NZC).*

New Zealand journalists also affirm the relevance of the commercialised newspaper to democracy. Although commercialism plays a leading role as all their actions in news selection is focused on engaging more readers, they also work towards inclusivism. Chapter six of the thesis confirmed this factor under section 6.3 where the letters to the editors are seen to have a high use as a form of interaction between the newspapers and their readers. Also, section 6.9 shows the highest use of the media role as the facilitative role at 46.76 percentage.

Moreover, the newspapers focus on specific issues of interest to all while also reporting fully on the activities of the Prime Minister and his cabinet. The Parliament, the opposition parties and other exciting developments that challenge the democratic journey were also portrayed. There can be said to be diversity and no homogeneity in their reporting, although there is no mention of selecting news based on the interest of the minority groups. The analysis of government political activities and representative democracy in section 6.7 and 6.8 also confirm this laxity. There were no distinctions made between the two cultural groups in New Zealand, the Pakeha and the Maori or even the fast-growing international groups, especially the Pacific Islanders.

### **8.2.2 POLITICAL EDITORS' ROLE**

Planning of each day's publication is the uppermost preoccupation of the political news editors. Therefore, their location should be at the central point and not on the field (Edmonds, 2004; Lillegraven & Wilberg, 2016). The centralisation enables the editor to perform the gatekeeper's role, make the decision on behalf of the media and determine the news value in the news selection process (Berkowitz, 1991; Statham, 2008). They presented themselves as planning rather than merely responding to political events or

political party attempts to manage the news agenda, and spoke regarding gaining perspective so they could give the public 'the big picture' of the election:

*Not only are you trying to cover what is going, but you also move the story forward for the newspapers the next day or breaking stuff. ...juggling so many things, I found that the best thing is to stay in Wellington instead of getting out because you find that when you are following a leader, you find yourself in a little bubble (NZA1).*

*It's better for a political editor to stay in the capital base and summed up what is happening in the campaign at the end of the day and the election field by talking to real journalists who are out there on the field. As the political editor, following the lead of the governing party and then juggling sometimes some of the other parties (NZA 2).*

*Playing politics is about setting the agenda; if you set the agenda, you may lay the argument about what you want to argue about. And then for me, most of the time being based in Wellington. I will be out at some of the times, but most times was trying to coordinate that coverage and get a sense of the big picture of what is happening out there and putting it together into what they see as commentary, a write-up, and an analysis paper (NZB).*

*I happened to be here covering from the parliamentary press gallery (NZC).*

The political editors' role is at the heart of the agenda setting responsibility of the press, and they are involved in framing the news, a theme that is relevant to the thesis (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). The activities and daily routines of political editors enumerated by the New Zealand editors and no political story is published without their input. Editors often shoulder the task of choosing a frame for a story (Tankard, 2001). Their wealth of experience also comes in handy in their discharge of duties. This is the main reason their location is essential in other to oversee the political teams. Their roles also include the responsibility for other members of the team as confirmed by NZA1 and NZB.

*It's all from all my team, but I certainly do more of that as a political editor (NZB).*

*You know I have my staff to think about (NZA1).*

The political editors are also in charge of monitoring and censoring the quality of political news published. They usually use their experience and management skill to evaluate and edit news articles before publishing.

*Yes always, if it didn't look right, if it didn't smell right, then I will basically say that they can do it again. Regarding can I detect if someone is getting certain money to do ..., I rely on it that I know my people, I work with them a lot, and I have never come across any incidence or story that look like. Am not quite sure how they can get that through the system, but I can't even imagine it happening, maybe am being naïve but, I think it will be obvious. If something doesn't if it jazzes if it doesn't look right (NZB1).*

New Zealand editors' emphasis on their location being in Wellington shows their independence from their media organisation based in Auckland, the commercial hub of the country. Secondly, they are not involved in pursuing politicians or political news but rather evaluate news sent to them. The practice gives them the opportunity for non-biased assessment of news and objectivity while allowing the critical news factors to determine news as suggested by (Staab, 1990). The editors also act as the advocate for other political journalists (Hanitzsch, 2007).

### **8.2.3 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL FEATURES**

Features writing plays a vital role in political news making as established in the content analysis chapter and by scholars (Garrison, 2009; Niblock, 2008). It allows time to research and present big pieces. The writing is done by anticipating likely areas of crucial interests in the election.

*...we did some very big policy features; we had lots of long, in-depth features on policies, covered by specialists' reporters. You allow coverage for the big fact pieces such as party launches, big policies launch, television debate ... very few people will like to read a thousand words about a lot of things, but we are going to do it because we still have a newspaper's audience who have an expectation and I think that is what you must do in a democracy. To provide or get reporters who have expertise in that area to do some analysis as to what the main issues are, what are for example the policies and major changes the health and education (NZA1).*

Features articles provide an avenue to engage readers and offer opinions of the newspapers backed up with research conducted on the issues. It also has the commercial advantage of being cheaper to produce due to the time elements and adaptable into the different forms of media such as radio talks, TV presentations, online news and others for newspapers which are conglomerates. Also, it serves the constitutional function of providing in-depth information for the electorates about the election and government activities. The information further strengthens the belief in the democratic structure of New Zealand, as the voters engage more with the right information.

### **8.2.4 ROUTINES OF POLITICAL NEWS JOURNALISTS**

New Zealand political journalists and editors have established for themselves a working set of routines for their effective functioning for democracy. News routines are those 'patterned routinised, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Factors that often affect routine are technology, deadlines, space and norms (Reese, 2001). All these factors played out in New Zealand

newspapers journalists' and editors' narration of their routines while gathering political news in their election year.

Examples of these routines among journalists and editors interviewed are:

*...we try to get around it by having the four or five reporters who work in Wellington sticking with the leaders and setting an election unit in the headquarters' office. People who have been in general reporters who have been in the main office in of the NZA were turned into political reporters for the duration of the election period, and they returned to their beats after the election. That worked quite well because there were quite a few reporters in the headquarters' office that worked in parliament and understood politics (NZA1).*

The importance of focus on the leading political officers is emphasised here as news often resides in and around the activities of such politicians. The media house draft additional personnel from other beats, to have an adequate number of journalists covering every needed area.

The second political editor interviewed enumerated the period of coverage as,

*We will count the election campaign as the furlough campaign as about 4-6 weeks out and soon start to get out on the road with the leaders and cover what they are doing as well as the voters as possible. I ring or talk to politicians without travelling around the country, or I might go to events, a few events, like political launches or speeches by politicians. Obviously, the politicians themselves, what they are saying, the leaders, the Ministers, spokespersons for the various parties, ministers (NZB).*

Intensive election campaign by most political parties in New Zealand commences about 4- 6 week to the election. This duration encompasses the range of time for this study which is 100 days before the date of the election and 100 days after the date of the election. But the intensity of the campaign is actually within the 6- 4 weeks noted by this editor, as the content analysis reveals a rise in the numbers of articles on political issues closer to the election.

Another interviewee, NZA2 related his routine to the structure and preparation of political articles.

*You start the working day with a selection of three or four stories. You might want to develop on one or two stories; they might have come in the day before. Then the Government makes an announcement and then suddenly you must take reporters working on the other night story to go to the press conference, with some minister's scoop to cover. Then at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the opposition might be making an announcement, so you should take time also to do the job (NZA2).*

He also adds that,

*You put someone on one leader for three or four weeks; it has a big advantage. They know what the leaders say, day after day, so they quote them often. Whereas someone might say, that is new, and you can say, he has been saying that for two weeks (NZA 2).*

The statement above confirms the importance of the focus on the government source in the political news which has been established severally in this study through the content analysis and other interview comments.

A summary of some of the established routines of journalists and editors in New Zealand are:

- (a) Attaching journalists to political office holders which helps to monitor things.
- (b) Reassigning journalists from other beats into political reporting during the election.
- (c) Targeting important political events and reporting on them.
- (d) Monitoring government activities and announcements.

The routine shows that journalists have their structures in place for gathering and producing information which helps to strengthen democracy and the public sphere. It also proves that the press is working within institutions which boast some level of solidity. It confirms further that New Zealand newspapers had come a long way off from when papers were managed by non-professionals who do not have any fixed set of routines and activities.

### **8.3 GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING BY NEW ZEALAND JOURNALISTS.**

New Zealand newspaper history confirms the fact that newspaper publication started in response to the need for information about political issues (Rees-Jones, 2015). The term 'newspapermen' was used to refer to politicians who had formerly worked for newspapers before contesting for political offices. Political parties are the first levels of public participation as it promotes equality, social, civil, and political rights (Norman, 2017; Ringen, 2009, 2011). These and more are some of the reasons for the needed relationship between the media and political parties. The connection established then is still relevant and shows in the narration about their roles and as sources for political news.

### 8.3.1 POLITICAL PARTIES AND NEWS

More and more, political parties are taking on the role of being involved in the news process in a democracy (Braga & Lahuerta, 2009; Burnell & Gerrits, 2010). In New Zealand, there is a thin line between the government and the political parties in power.

*...Government is made up of political parties. The Government kind of does has an advantage until probably the regulated period. When we are covering announcements from the government, in the past the 2 1/2 years<sup>16</sup> we cannot say the National party; we must say the Government. But the closer we get to an election, the more they are identified as the National party's quote. For example, the Prime Minister talking, in our coverage, we do make it clear that it is the National party's promise because lots of another party will disagree with that or will accept it (NZA1).*

Newspaper journalists and editors, therefore, try to strike a balance between the distinction between political parties and the government in their portrayal of political news. The relationship also matters as NZA 2 said:

*A lot of the news is made by the government or Prime Minister talking, holding press conferences, and making announcements. You have got to make a relationship work as well, because, it is important as a political commentator, whatever you are writing to be able to talk to politicians often so that there will no bias. Because when they don't like you, they won't tell you anything. It is important to be able to get that kind of connection that leads to an exclusive story (NZA2).*

Maintaining the relationship is also striving to control the power structure between the press, the government, and the political parties. Such act is an essential feature of the critical political economy theory as it determines who controls the news frames, which invariably affect the portrayal of democracy. There is also the consideration that the newspaper is a public sphere also meant to be the voice for the voiceless, that is the electorates and not the government.

But political parties' role as sources of news in the New Zealand election cannot be overlooked as is further shown that:

*As a rule, we always have someone with the two big leaders,<sup>17</sup> throughout the campaign. We try to have someone with New Zealand First<sup>18</sup> as well, the whole time because you can't anticipate when the news will arrive. Other parties want to have their fair share of the election. All the leaders go back to their goals each day and*

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<sup>16</sup> New Zealand election is conducted every three years. This means this distinction starts six months before the next election

<sup>17</sup> Although New Zealand operates a multi-party system, two political parties always dominate the ruling block and the opposition. These two parties are the National and the Labour Parties.

<sup>18</sup> One of the small but very active opposition party during the 2014 September election whose leader Winston Peter is a renowned politician



*set the agenda. Sometimes you never let them control the news because they want to, but they might be entitled to, a policy for example (NZA1).*

*...then you have got four or five other parties in parliament trying to be heard in the news (NZA2).*

More so, the politicians can influence the news by acting as the source through publicising and educating the electorates with their online news site (Boudreau & MacKenzie, 2014; Espírito Santo & Costa, 2016). The act is called spin which invariably also influences mainstream news sources. The journalists sometimes agree to this fact of their importance as sources of news. They, therefore, control their influence by sometimes acceding to or holding a distance from the most powerful ones.

*What happens is that it is the political parties that spins, it is not journalists. There is a special website in Wellington called the scoop, and it has some very good journalists working for it, and give commentary, but it is a little bit dishonest with what it says. It publishes political parties press statements in an unadulterated, completely as it is. You read, the whole page of political stunt. The Government's announcements press statements that are written as if there were a story. That's the spin (NZA1)*

A level of imbalance shows in the framing of the political parties as sources of news as this affects the principle of objectivity of news which is a first foothold of democracy (Entman, 1993; Gentzkow et al., March 2006; Tankard, 2001). One of such as shown by NZA1 is that controversial parties often get featured in political news more than others because these attract media attention.

*Am not sure that we gave all parties the same time. We are trying to be fair, but you have got to accept that every story that needed to be covered in the big parties don't get covered, if they do something stupid,<sup>19</sup> of course, you will be covering that. For example, I think the Greens<sup>20</sup> have not had much coverage, so we give them a bit more of coverage. We would go to an opening or their policy launch even if it did not deserve it. They are not controversial enough to attract media attention (NZA1).*

NZA 1 confirms the assertion that financial motivation is considered and upheld above other factors in deciding news portrayal during the election. NZC 1 also supports the emphasis of the government voice above others but discusses some distinction between political parties in government and how the press frames them in the news

*I think in an election campaign, probably the government voice is slightly louder than the opposition's voice because they are in charge. They are the ones making*

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<sup>19</sup> This refers to some elements of conflict as discussed earlier

<sup>20</sup> One of the smaller political parties in New Zealand

*announcements about policies, and they can say, do this, and they do it. But I think closer to the election, the balance of the coverage tends to reverse. You hear a lot more from the opposition than you tend to hear from the government. It is a vicious circle. During an election year, you hear more from the opposition than you would have before the first year of a three-year term (NZC).*

However, there is a noticeable level of discipline by political parties in New Zealand which is attested to as:

*It would be interesting if it were not for the fact that parties exude a lot more discipline during an election campaign and nothing would be because they try to narrow their message. If it were not for that... there will be a big free for all situation (NZA 1).*

There is always an ensuing contest about the balance of power between New Zealand journalists and the politicians. Journalists try to control news to favour the institutional factors also and not politicians' biases. Politicians, on the other hand, seek to influence the report and set the agenda. The imbalance of power is therefore resolved through a form of mediated reflexivity Davis, (2007,2009) in which each uses their knowledge to benefit the other.

### **8.3.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESS AND POLITICAL PARTIES**

There is a mutuality in the relationship between the press and the political parties, and each adheres to some standard of discipline to earn respect and keep the relationship right. This discipline is needed to maintain the power dynamic that political parties share with the press.

NZA 1 argues that

*It's hard to generalise because it depends. You can sort of look at the umbrella issue, you know, how good is the relationship. Not bad as it is in some countries. I think if there is anything New Zealand journalists and politicians are probably too close. Am not quite sure, we are all in the same little bubble<sup>21</sup> over there. Perhaps we are friends because most of the media are not aligned with a party, most of them try to have a sort of relationship with all parties. It's not like there are some huge campaigning journalists, none in the press gallery as far as am concerned. The line cannot be seen (NZA1).*

NB also confirms that

*We all need each other, but we don't necessarily like each other. It's a relationship that they need us, and we need them but not best friends (NZB).*

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<sup>21</sup> Referring to the Beehive building in Wellington where the Government ministers' offices are and next to which the political journalist's offices are located.

However, NZC had some different comments on the relationship between the journalists and the government and political parties:

*It can be tense, there can be conflict, overall, and there is what I called healthy respect and distance. I don't think that political journalists in New Zealand run political agenda or favour one party over another or they tend to try to be fair and accurate and impartial and try to give as many points of views as possible. You could argue that they tend towards the centre, so they tend to talk to the biggest party first and give more time to the big side, but I don't think you could say that they are biased one way or the other for the government or against the government. It is fun and satisfying, and we feel like we are making a difference. (NZC).*

The relationship between the press and the political parties in New Zealand is symbiotic. They both benefit from each other, and there is an open-door policy, respect and regards for democratic rules (Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). The result does not threaten the autonomy of the press and this helps to uphold the tenets of a democratic public sphere.

#### **8.4 NEWSPAPER WEBSITE, MEASURING AUDIENCE INTERESTS AND CITIZENS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING.**

Sources in the political news are varied and central to the news structure and affect the process of determining its level of media commercialisation (Deacon, 1996; Mwangi, 2008). Chapter six on the content analysis of New Zealand newspapers shows an application of six variants of sources in this study. Most of these sources and some additional ones also feature here from the interview data as consulted and used sources by editors and journalists.

##### **8.4.1 NEWS MEDIA WEBSITES AND MEASUREMENTS**

New trends are continuously emerging in journalism. One of such is the fusion between computers or technology as sources of news of measurement of patterns in the newsgathering process (Brost, 2013; Herbert & Thurman, 2007). Some of these contribute “to the growth of computationally derived forms of journalism, such as data visualisations, software applications, news algorithms, and other coding-based projects” (Lewis & Usher, 2013:603). This trend, seen in the historical narrative encourage the technological determinism model (Curran, 2002b; Stuart, 2008). The practice is prominent among New Zealand newspapers journalists as attested to by these interviewees. Also, these websites create opportunities for a thriving digital public sphere. These news sites make readers become more active participants and display their democratic commitment to the public sphere. It gives an opportunity for dissent of opinion to be expressed and it is mostly free and accessible through affordable mobile data (Papacharissi, 2008; Ruiz et al., 2011).

NZA 1 narrates the role of being able to monitor their newspaper website and measure audience:

*... The last election (the 2014 election) it's not so much because of the commercialisation, but the way we can now measure audience. Am talking about our website now. You see the traffic on the website which is quite different to the newspapers circulation figures which come out every quarter or year. We were always covering where we have political polling. We polled every week to the campaign, and we will publish it. All of those and trending a little bit with the online and digital media (NZA1).*

The monitoring is even made easier by the newspaper organisation whose headquarters in Auckland communicates with the political field office in Wellington.

*We are sent the summary every morning of what stories are going off on the website and which are not. Even when you are not tracking, you have got the software on your screen. You know exactly how many people are reading your story or have read your story. You can get a very good idea of what's important and what's not. I think the website was important last time. Twitter was also big last time, what is going to be big this time is I think is mobile. Everyone is reading the news on the mobile phone (NZA1).*

Another form of online presence of the newspaper's journalists and editors is seen by the use of personalised social media platforms as NZA 2 point to the fact that,

*You can see when you go to our respective blogs of online news site of the NZA, and our online news site, you see it's quite similar because a lot of stories would have been picked in the public places. So, it becomes instinct for a while (NZA2).*

News in this instance has become quantifiable which is an evidence of commercialisation. Online traffic becomes a motivating factor in deciding the selection and framing of political news in New Zealand.

*(1) That is the one thing about a website because there is never a space issue. The good thing about digital is that if you want to cover something in-depth, there will always be space on digital. You know by the time (NZA 2).*

The space issue is never a problem with the online versions of the newspapers. It allows journalists to publish news as it unfolds and also update it when needed. Fenton agrees to this on all counts, when she states that "more space equals more news" (Fenton, 2010a). Democracy invariably profits from this trend since and produce more information and which enhance the media role of surveillance and monitorial.

#### **8.4.2 DISADVANTAGES OF NEWS SITES**

However, some disadvantages are evident from the use of news sites. There is a loss of editorial control as the news websites are updated and managed by different people.

Gatekeeping is highly disadvantaged, and political news production becomes a free for all (Carlson, 2007; Lewis, 2012). Chapter 3, section 3.3.4 discusses some of these disadvantages. NZA 1 comments agree with the fact that the effective functioning of the democratic sphere through the mass media is impinged on by the unguarded instruction.

*...the advent of the website adds junk to the core newspapers. I would see something on our website which is thinking that why is that even there? Because that politician said the same thing a month ago. When you have got so many people operating out of the political environment, they don't know what's been said before and so they have different standards to what is news. People come from one organisation putting up stories; I would be frantic if I am one of the editors seeing everything without being consulted (NZA1).*

Other types of media and even those belonging to competing conglomerates pose a form of challenge, thereby affecting the framing and selection of news. These points emphasise more the commercial inclination of New Zealand newspapers. NZA1 and NZA2 both state narrates their experience as,

*(1) You must also be aware of the competitors, so that is also a big thing to be juggling especially that of the media (NZA1).*

*(2) Sometimes, you are forced to cover stories as news, even though you don't think it is news because two or three other media might have lashed onto it (NZA1).*

*(3) There is a huge competition for the media attention operating day to day, and as journalists, you also understand your limitations (NZA 2).*

Consumerism often becomes the focus of news when it is a free for all situation (Stuart, 2008). Quality, truth, objectivity is often sacrificed on the altar of news website traffic especially when such are not controlled by mainstream media but by people with selfish interest, whose aim is to influence the readers in their undue favour.

#### **8.4.3 CITIZENS AS POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES.**

New Zealand media have a healthy relationship with citizens. This fact was attested to by data from the content analysis in chapter 6. The interviews content further affirms this practice of citizen-based journalism in sourcing for political news.

*The only voice comes from public opinion polls, and there has been attention that the election coverage is based on what voters want to be covered. In the election, the voters are very much in the minds of journalists (NZA2).*

NZB was also optimistic about the influence of the electorate in political news gathering and commended the newspaper organisation. She states that in the light of recent world development, voters do not always conform to expected logic. The media should, therefore, be more citizen-conscious (Farrell & Newman, 2017).

*I think that is where we are trying to do much harder but again our media have the advantage, and everyone is very conscious that relationship with the citizens is the most important you can have. You should be respectful and responsive in how we connect with them and understand their concerns and what they are saying to issues. I think of them as the voice through the media as well. That is one of the things when I started at the media as well. Your average Joe Bloggs<sup>22</sup> didn't have a voice in the media. They will say something, and as a journalist, you don't report it. Why will I want to quote you? Whereas, now there has been quite a shift. If you look online or in the paper, there is more and more about that average voting person's voice. I think that is going to evolve more and more over the election campaign, I think, we all saw what happened at Brexit and France. The big thing for all media is to get out there and understand what people are thinking and feeling. And not be blinded by the views you get in Wellington which is the huge focus of all media organisation during the election (NZB1).*

In the same vein, NZB 1 identifies other stakeholders in the political scenes whose voices are reflected by the media.

*The political journalists will be approached by pressure groups most of the time; they will be approached by lobbyists, the whole time, by politicians, everyone is got the barrow to push from everyone, hundreds, or thousands. You should put a line and sift through. At the end of the day if it is important, it will let out at you, and if it is not, then you can quickly move on. That is one of the things; all my guys should have a huge amount of institutional knowledge. You should understand what's important, what the country said, and what direction we are viewing the campaign (NZB1).*

NZC's expressions was first a form of affirmation of what the media practice are:

*Regarding the electorate, there will be lots of Vox pop, going out and talking to people in the street asking them what they think. They will focus on issues and talk to people who have problems and their experiences in what they are saying and then there is the political polling which is not as regular as it should be asking people which party they prefer, but also what you think about certain issues and which issues would you like the government to pursue (NZC).*

*I concentrated on the election from my subscribers, who are mostly government departments, big corporates, banks, big law firms, who I called high-end corporate and Governmental New Zealand, not a broad public (NZC).*

But because of the nature of his publication, his adjusted approach is to talk to

*Political commentators and analysts and talk to people in their community. People who are voting and leaders of community groups and lobby groups and people who have strong public views and who represents the views of large, numbers of people (NZC).*

The fact that New Zealand newspapers are democratically-minded in their use of citizens as sources are further confirmed here, and this is stated through the content analysis

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<sup>22</sup> A nickname for an ordinary person

data. This practice of inclusivism is a significant factor in affirming the permanent status of their democracy. Strong publics is one of the features of a functioning public sphere and the presence and participation of heterogeneous readers in the newspapers helps (Fraser, 1992).

## **8.5 THE CHALLENGES FACED IN THE GATHERING AND DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL NEWS.**

Challenges in political news process could become a weakness if not adequately managed in the portrayal of news. But it can also measure the quality of news or the levels of the political news portrayal. Analysis from literature examined in chapter 4 of the thesis has confirmed that numerous challenges characterise journalistic work. Some of the relevant ones in New Zealand newspapers faced by journalists and editors are in the various forms discussed as the following sub themes.

### **8.5.1 CHALLENGES WITH LEVELS OF NEWS ACCEPTABILITY AND POLITICAL PRESSURES.**

In a society like New Zealand where there is celebrated of famous voice, the media's role as gatekeeper becomes challenging when they deviate from the expected norms in their choice and mode of reporting.

NZA 1 stresses the importance of an excellent political article which is sometimes not on favourite issues, in the newspaper:

*Occasionally we bring out stories that we know are not going to have a wide appeal but are important stories. I have some experience that it is getting harder and harder for journalists to do that but there will be some of us who would do that until we are carried out (NZA 1).*

However, there is still an acceptable level of independence of the political editors that enable them to perform their duties. The political editors can operate solely for the democratic and commercial interest of their newspapers without undue organisational pressure to present particular news or not.

*Am not saying that does not happen to the editorial manager. I don't know the nature of those exchanges and ... whatever it is, it does not filter down to me other than, our join decision to build an audience, you know. I can honestly say that, and I have been at NZA for two decades, and I have never felt any political pressure. Sometimes I feel it the other way I feel like ringing up and saying who wrote that stupid editorial (NZA1).*

*... There a challenge in your coverage is fair. In the other days about 20 or 30 years ago, they used to have someone in the newspaper office who will measure the relative column inches and meters each coverage gets. Well, that died down, now it's on news value (NZA2).*

One of the contributing factor to this avoidance of such pressure is the fact that New Zealand newspapers organisational ownership is a conglomerate. Direct pressure is not put on the political editors and journalists but probably on the editorial manager as stated by NZA1.

### **8.5.2 CHALLENGES WITH SOURCING FOR NEWS AND CONTENT**

News process entails gathering, producing, or writing and dissemination. The type of challenges is related to the gathering of political news itself, and it comes in different dimensions which are:

*Political parties become very secretive during an election campaign, which makes planning difficult, so they only give you 3- or 4-days' notice of where they want to be because they don't want the opposition to know. You are trying to get everyone time and plans in so you can work out where you are to go (NZA 2).*

The first in the lists of challenges encountered in the gathering of political news in New Zealand is one of the common difficulties in which political parties and sometimes government deliberately delay or outrightly hides information, which they refer to as managing information (Kuhn & Neveu, 2013). They usually wait for an opportune moment to release it to control the reactions. The media sometimes have to resort to using disclosure laws in getting such information (Roberts, 2006).

The other four challenges link to the various stress encountered within the media organisational structure, the parliament, government employees and image makers. The pressure experienced puts to test the gatekeeping role of the media and also their collaborative role in democracy.

*1 Managing Auckland which I would call the mothership that is the NZA is becoming bigger and bigger part of the job in an election campaign competing for agendas, I mean, the resource of time, huge expectations for turnover of stories with the new media and then trying to stick to the usual. Using the traditional judgment of what makes news but also having to be fair (NZA1).*

The political editor takes up the role of managing the units of political staff from two different locations. They face the responsibility of convincing the editor in chief on a daily basis about the selection of the range of political stories to be published.

*(2) You are fighting government issues when they have a lot of press secretaries and spin doctors. There are lots of constraints and organising that nothing goes wrong for the leaders, the time of travelling will get more attention than a policy statement (NZA 2).*



*(3) There is pressure to get news, the pressure you see in Parliament as an institution, in an election, in a funny way so you take it on board, very much in a way that you as an editor, on certain things, you would not go out of your way to write against them. You accept it as part of the job.*

*(4) Sometimes the other parties complain if they feel shut out. A lot of time it is politicians who merely have personnel who cover them. You hear a lot of complaints, especially when they launch the campaign, which is probably a big news. National and Labour launch. They quite often have their launches on the same day trying to frustrate one another (NZA 2).*

The political journalists and editors' concerns expressed about news pressure, show their desire to deliver a truthful, objective, fair, balanced reporting during the election. They, therefore, strive to listen and their facilitative, and collaborative roles emerge more from their portrayal of political discourse.

### **8.5.3 CHALLENGES OF BEING COMMERCIALISED.**

The conglomeration form of operation for New Zealand commercialised newspapers appears to cushion them from the burden of direct influence by their media organisation. There is still some level of impact which manifests in their selection of political articles. NZA2 shows such influence as,

*(1) There is also the challenge between a lively coverage and informed coverage. That is why the electorate is waiting for newspapers, analyses so that people can find answers to their questions. The question they raised in their minds. One column, one opinion at times and every day they maintain consciousness, understanding enough to cover. But you end up not knowing a lot but a bit about a lot of things and not necessarily a lot about a lot of things (NZA 2).*

*(2) When I started, I think there was not a lot of pressures. There was the paper, it has a circulation, but the pressures were unstated (NZA2).*

In spite of the democratic acts of New Zealand journalists and editors, they are also faced with the challenge of quality information, which are sometimes sacrificed for more commercially viable stories. Although such pressures are not directly exerted, it still affects the description of political news. It will be justifiable to say that to a certain extent; commercialisation also affects the portrayal of political news in New Zealand.

### **8.5.4 CHALLENGES WITH HUMAN RESOURCES**

Human resources are one of the true tests of professionalism, which affects the quality of political information published out during an election. It is not enough to cover political news, but effectiveness in the gathering, production and dissemination of news also matters. This type of challenge comes in multi-varied ways. It could be the challenge with

not only the number of journalists to cover news but also with the quality of staff, among others.

Some of the challenges stated explicitly about human resources by journalists and editors in New Zealand are:

- (1) ...is its human resources or time? Both, it is and space ...you do not get to cover all that you want to or everything that you think deserves to be covered. For instance, 20 years ago, you might have been left to it as political staff in the press gallery with a little bit of help from Auckland. These days, everyone has got a view, everyone is a political commentator, and everyone has got 10 ideas at 7 am in the morning, wanting to give them to you. You're kind of juggling, you have got to resist being negative because people are very enthusiastic (NZA1).*
- (2) In the case of their campaign, you don't want to be always saying, no, we don't have the staff to do that. That is a great idea, but that will tie up one staff for 12 hours for three days. You are juggling your staff in planning; you are always working on the long-term and short-term stories, monitoring your positions, trying to present the news, make sure you are not missing anything on the trail and on that day, whatever is happening (NZA1).*

Lack of time is a recurrent issue in journalism since immediacy is a significant quality of news (Tuchman, 1997). What makes it challenging is when there are not enough human resources to cover a political beat at a time.

NZA2 with his over 30 years of experience in political reporting enumerated attributed various nuances of human resources challenges as,

- (3) The challenges are logistical. You have got to go on the road 3 or 4 weeks during the election. You must be determined even before you start the election (NZA2).*
- (4) When you have a problem, you have got to balance 25-30 of Government ministries and departments, you have breaking stories making the news, and you have got 4/5 journalists trying to cover them all. You try to specialise but quite often, you have got staff members who are not the specialist, they hardly find time to investigate and you must give your stuff to someone else who has got no understanding enough to cover (NZA2).*
- (5) ...the challenge of communication in covering the election news. Communication, between yourself, the policy they set reporters in the headquarters' and the ones who were sent out on their own (NZA2).*
- (6) Also, trying to get them to accept your headline and how the news should be done. As a political editor, there is a report which is a major story, they sent it to the headquarters, and the reporters have missed it or had written it the wrong way. That could be a problem (NZA2).*

The concerns expressed are based on the desire to deliver the best form of reporting to democracy. These journalists are aware of their power about political information and the effect it could have on all participants in democracy. They work towards delivering only the appropriate frames for all their stories to focus on issue-based reporting and avoid sensationalism.

NZB 1 the political editor of the second newspaper was particularly concerned about time, stress, and other unforeseen circumstances.

*The big issue is time and stress. They<sup>23</sup>are on the road and hours are long. A lot of the time they are on the way at 6 o'clock in the morning, and you are not finishing, or you are still writing at 7 or 8 o'clock at night. They are filing through the day and often when they get to the end of the day; they should try and make, trying to make it into one whole. They happen to be tired, and they have a laptop that is about to be flat, staying in a place that does not have Wi-Fi. There is a lot of these issues that can make hard the experience (NZB1).*

*I didn't have enough time, which is pure because it's my situation, it's just me. I am a one-man band. I am like a National news organisation, only unlike NZB or NZA has thousands of journalists (NZC).*

It is not only the qualities of news that affect the selection and portrayal of political news but the merits of journalists and editors too. Among the desired class for a political journalist is the ability to withstand stress and work under pressure. They are also expected to adapt quickly to changing trends in newsroom practice to meet the demands of their society and news. This act refers to as 'multi-skilling' (Phillips, 2014:72).

#### **8.5.6 CHALLENGES OF DENIAL OF RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.**

With the researcher's background knowledge about Nigerian newspapers' interviews, there were concerns about the dimension of denial of rights, privileges, or victimisation, from the organisation or other stakeholders to journalists covering news. However, the second political editor confirmed that this does not exist in New Zealand.

*I can't even imagine that. The political parties do that all the time, and it is my job as the political editor to stand up for my reporters and to tell them where to get off. I have had editors who have done the same on my behalf. It does not matter if they are Prime Ministers or finance ministers. I remember saying to one political party; "we can get a little big black dog out of you<sup>24</sup>". Sincerely, no one will accept politicians' pressure on journalists or what they write because they don't... (NZB).*

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<sup>23</sup> Referring to New Zealand political journalists or reporters

<sup>24</sup> An idiomatic expression

Although the tone eased off with ...

*...the thing is, New Zealand journalism, we do have a tradition of being -oh yes this might change in the future as the whole world is having a culture of changing for now- it is different overseas. A newspaper might have an editorial from the political point of view; reporters are taking the view that they are non-partisan. There might be a left-wing columnist and the right-wing columnist but again... any reporters who are being partisan in the reporting, they can pick up the government of the day, as someone else has. That is the whole point of journalism, we live and die by. Why will a media organisation come down hard on others for doing their job? It would not make sense because they are independent (NZB).*

Human right is a stronghold of any democracy, and it is well entrenched and practised within New Zealand society. It transcends to the political scene and political reporting. Both the media and political parties are aware of their mutuality regarding power about democracy. Each keeps a respectable distance and maturity which are hallmarks of an established democracy.

This chapter has evaluated the practices and challenges faced by New Zealand journalists and editors in the portrayal of political news. It observed that the required professional standard is adhered to by the media practitioners. The wealth of experience of the interviewees show in the way they respond to challenges of reporting in an election year.

## **CHAPTER NINE: NEWSPAPER JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE 2015 NIGERIAN ELECTION.**

### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is structured to present the analysis of interviews conducted among ten (10) political journalists selected from four media houses in Nigeria (See Tables 5.10 & 5.11). The interview responses provide answers to the second and third research questions for this study, and the same descriptions will be carried out for New Zealand. However, this chapter will deal with responses in line with Research question two:

What are the media practices and challenges among political journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria?

The section follows the same pattern with the analysis of interview data from New Zealand in chapter eight. This chapter therefore entails discussing research question two in relation to the themes that were generated from the interview comments of the respondents. Although, the themes from Nigerian journalist and editors, differs slightly from New Zealand. The descriptions adjust the responses of the interviewees to the research questions. The variableness in themes does not hamper the comparativeness of this study as the comparison is about evaluating both similarities and differences.

**TABLE 9.1 LISTS OF THEMES DISCUSSED UNDER RESEARCH QUESTION 2 IN RELATIONS TO NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS' JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS' PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES IN THEIR COVERAGE OF POLITICAL NEWS.**

Section	Themes Discussed
Section 9.2 MAJOR THEME	THE PROCESSES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING AMONG NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS.
Section 9.2.1	QUALITIES OF POLITICAL NEWS AND JOURNALISTS.
Section 9.2.2	FEDERALISM AS A DOMINANT FACTOR IN NIGERIA.
Section 9.3 MAJOR THEME	SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING BY NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS.
Section 9.3.1	GOVERNMENT AS SOURCES
Section 9.3.2	VERIFICATION AND TYPE OF ATTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES
Section 9.4.	OTHER SOURCES IN POLITICAL NEWS
Section 9.5	NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ABOUT CITIZENS AS (NOT) POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES
Section 9.5.1	NON-PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE
Section 9.5.2	IGNORANCE OF NIGERIANS ABOUT POLITICAL NEWS
Section 9.6	MEASURING CITIZENS PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING.
Section 9.6.1	FEEDBACK AS A MEANS
Section 9.6.2	BROADCAST MEDIA FEEDBACK
Section 9.7	THE PROCESS OF EDITING POLITICAL NEWS
Section 9.7.1	POLITICAL EDITOR'S AND JOURNALISTS' ROLE IN GATEKEEPING
Section 9.8 MAJOR THEME	CHALLENGES OF INVESTIGATING POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA SPHERES
Section 9.8.1	EDITORS' CHALLENGES IN GATHERING POLITICAL NEWS
Section 9.8.2	SECURITY AND THREATS TO LIFE AND JOB
Section 9.8.3	DISREGARD FROM SOURCES
Section 9.8.4	INSUFFICIENT HUMAN RESOURCES
Section 9.8.5	SIDE EFFECTS FROM ECONOMIC RECESSION.
Section 9.8.6	NEWSPAPER ORGANISATION'S PRESSURE

## **9.2 THE PROCESSES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING AMONG NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS.**

Chapter eight established the importance of the description of the processes of gathering political news. But, the discussion in this chapter will show the relevance to political news in Nigeria. Part of the process is the qualities used in determining the selection of political news by Nigerian journalist.

### 9.2.1 QUALITIES OF POLITICAL NEWS AND JOURNALISTS.

Qualities of political news reflect the roles played in society, established with trends from the Anglo-US background according to Preston (2008), and also shown in chapter 2 of the thesis. Nonetheless, each democracy, country or media is structured uniquely from another. The Nigeria journalists were able to itemise what they considered as qualities of political news used in determining their portrayal of the 2015 general election.

Some of the qualities used in the selection of political news in Nigeria are enumerated here.

In a society like Nigeria where journalists face innumerable challenges which will be discussed later in this chapter, NGA 2 list of news quality is topped by,

*You do things you do out of passion when you want to get to the root, a cause and effect of, what is motivating, playing out, in mind every political transaction. This involves doing some extra things some people may not do. Cost, interaction is involved. You establish your contacts; reach out to diverse players to be abreast of the issues (NGA2).*

He considers passion and determination as essential attributes for a political journalist. It confirms the point made in the last chapter that qualities of political news and those of the journalist, embed into each other. The effective functioning of democracy and production of quality news need these attributes.

NGA 3 formed his assertion from the famous inverted pyramid popularly taught in journalism school which places prominence or 'what' in the 5w's and H' as a significant quality of news (Po" tker, 2003). Prominence or dominance is further made popular in today's world of technological innovation where news reports as it happens (Lamble, 2011). In his words, NGA3 states that,

*The dominance of events determines the title or cover story, from the point of the inverted pyramid (NGA3).*

He also states that there is a need for the journalist,

*To be on track, be on alert to know both what is secret and open. What is secret being news in journalism while what is open should be the normal occurrence does not often qualify as news? You must go the extra mile to investigate something that happened and not rely on hearsay (NGA3).*

His statement agrees with views from New Zealand journalists about the secretive nature of government and political parties in an election. A journalist, therefore, needs to be current with situations and not give outdated information or misinform.

NGD 1 from another newspaper opines that,

*It is basically the same way you gather news from other beats. There are rarely any essential differences; the basic tenets of journalism. You go about scouring for news. We have reporters assigned to beats; we have contact with political stakeholders with whom we relate to periodically, public office holder to gather information, politicians, their friends, associates (NGD1).*

The various comments show that the fundamentals in the coverage of political news are the same when compared to other beats. Some essential qualities expected from journalists are determination, aptness, following established routines, specialisation in beat reporting and contacts with sources. On the other hand, qualities of the political news are prominence, bizarre or unusual or element of surprise.

### **9.2.2 FEDERALISM AS A DOMINANT FACTOR IN NIGERIA.**

Nigeria operates a Federal bicameral legislature (Chazan, 1989). It is a system that emphasises the focus on the federal government activities whose location although is based in Abuja, (The Federal Capital) affects the 36 states in the country on political news. NGA 3, therefore, confirms that this factor plays a significant role in the portrayal of political communication.

*Politics (Election) is the ultimate thing in a democratic setting. Leadership is all about politics; the procedure is that when an event has taken place, you must continue to follow the events, especially if it should do with national interests at the centre.<sup>25</sup> Everybody wants to know what is happening at the centre that goes a long way in determining what happens at the other arms of the government like the state, and the local government. Most times even in the allocation of resources the centre takes 52%, so the remaining 48% goes to the states and the local governments. Even the media's attention is always in the centre (NGA 3).*

This assertion is appropriate for this study as the March 28<sup>th</sup> 2015 Nigerian election is the focus of the thesis, which ushered in the President who is the executive leader of the Federal government.

NGC 2, a journalist in one of the media organisations, who had worked as a political correspondent in one of the Nigerian state legislative assembly shares his thought on the fact that,

*"In the state assembly that make law, from the day a bill is introduced to the house, it is released you start reporting. You follow up the bill up to the various stages, the committee stages until it is passed. You cover the committee stages in the house. You interface with the law (NGC 2).*

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<sup>25</sup> He means the Federal level since Nigeria practices the Federal system of Government



This journalist's view implies that political news that focuses on the Federal government should be given preference compared to the state and the local government levels. The data quantitatively analysed in chapters seven reflects the trend as more articles in selected newspapers were on issues related to the federal government more than the state governments. However, the research did not make any form of distinction between government sources cited from the federal, state, or local levels. It was, nonetheless, noticed that most sources cited were the federal government references. Another reason is that the newspaper analysed are national newspapers, and their primary focus is Nigeria which is represented by the federal government in general and not the states or local governments.

Moreover, the focus on the legislative arms of government is another confirmation from the content analysis data (See section 7.18) that the rule of law and bureaucratic government activities ranked second and third. These rankings further show the fact that Nigerian newspapers focus on happenings and not issues which are referred to as the 'metaframe of politics as strategic game' versus the 'metaframe of politics as issues' (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2006:131). One of the happenings was the friction caused by the election of the senate president, who was not the favourite candidate by his political party for the Senate.

### **9.3 SOURCES OF POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING BY NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS.**

Sources are central to political news because they are used to authenticate the information provided (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2009). Chapters six and seven of the thesis, supported by the content analysis data, exhaustively discuss the importance of sources. This aspect also examines the comments by political journalists and editors in Nigeria, arguing the claim about the predominance of government as sources more than the citizens.

#### **9.3.1 GOVERNMENT AS SOURCES**

Comments from Nigerian journalists suggest that the government's role as sources in political news gathering, display expertise and political knowledge (Fraile & Iyengar, 2014; Freedman et al., 2007). The journalists spoke in the following terms:

*"You may have to contact the government spokesperson, either at the state or local government and the national level, both the open and direct one. (Sic) Or you could speak to your sources within the Government who will give you information, independently. That is if the spokesperson in the Government is not willing or they think there are things not favourable to them that they cannot speak on. You talk to*

*the staff and get the information directly from them. After that, you can confirm from the Government sources whether it is true or false (NGA1).*

NGB 1 also rated,

*Politicians, Local government chairman, lawmakers in the house of reps., the National assembly, senators, governors, media aides, close associates, those that make politics. The politicians are the primary source of news (NGB1).*

And NGC2 towed this same line that,

*Another way is to interface with lawmakers to know their plans for their people or constituencies" (NGC2).*

The implication of these assertions for democracy undermines its very essence. A liberal society will hold in high esteem not only the voice of the government but also the electorates who voted them in. This act is the primary purpose of representative democracy. Where the voters or the civil society are not given the appropriate regard in the political sphere, it cannot but continually be called emerging and not an established democracy.

### **9.3.2 VERIFICATION AND TYPE OF ATTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES**

The trust level in the relationship between the newspapers and the government in Nigeria is low, which is an extension of the same for the citizens (Iroghama, 2012). There is a lack of credibility of the news sometimes deliberately peddled by political parties and even the government. The act of being secretive is typical to all government, who sometimes do so for security purpose. But to intentionally give out false information is a threat to all in democracy. The factual declaration by NGA1, which other respondents agreed to is that,

*"In Nigeria, no government is prepared to give any information that is not favourable to them; they don't make the news. They are routines in nature and easily predictable. If you must get what is behind the scene, or what goes on in the government, you go beyond the government; you must pressure your sources on those things that are of interest to you. It's when you have done that you can come to the government spokesperson and confirm. Sometimes they will tell you they are not aware, or they will deny it. If you are sure of your facts and you know it is true, you go ahead and publish it, if you are not sure, you drop it" (NGA1).*

The excerpt confirms the fact that although Nigerian media sees the government as an available source of political news, they, however, have recognised some form of limitations in the type of news churned out. The newspapers, therefore, verify from other sources or contacts outside the government, such as the opposition parties, and uses one to confirm the other. However, political news is sourced mainly from government

institutions like the parliament and the elected members there. Also, most attribution is done with utmost confidentiality without stating specifics or names of the source.

NGA 2 further corroborates the need for verification of government information,

*"It depends on the level of the breaking news, if it is about a political party, you try to reach the image makers, then the party chairman. ... You do back-grounding.<sup>26</sup> Because of political interests, a lot of people don't want to own their opinion, but they are prepared ... of their honour to tell you the truth. They don't want the backlash ... tomorrow they may angle for a political office, and if he had revealed what he is not supposed to, that might begin to haunt him (Sic). They will sit down and tell you this is what is happening but inform you that they are not obliged to say this and should not be quoted" (NGA 2).*

NGA2 also described the difficulties of journalism in the context of restricted information:

*"Nigeria is a growing democracy, propelled by hunger. A lot of politicians, almost 60 per cent of them don't have anything they are doing.<sup>27</sup> They idle along, hoping that one day, the political opportunity will drop on their laps; they will occupy one position or the other. It is not an open society yet; nobody comes to the open to say I voted PDP<sup>28</sup> or APC,<sup>29</sup> quite unlike the USA where you can check your data and says such percentage voted each party. You can see someone who voted APC holding a position in PDP (NGA 2).*

There is the reference to lack of convictions and openness from political party members about their parties' policies. Politicians sometimes withhold information, which may be opposing to their party's view, but beneficial to the public, to secure a political opportunity for themselves. Such an act affects the structure of democracy and the political knowledge of the citizen because truth became subjective and traded for selfish gain (Johnson-Cartee, 2004).

NGA 2 also lamented that,

*You cannot vouch for the credibility of the internet and other social platforms, but through the grapevine, if you have built confidence and people know whatever may be, that you cannot divulge their identity, they are always available when you call to tell you the news" (NGA2).*

*"If you come to developing society like Nigeria, politicians have a peculiar attitude. Most of them are not very reliable. If you are interviewing them, you should be very careful and be able to crosscheck your facts especially to balance your news. There*

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<sup>26</sup> investigation

<sup>27</sup> that is other professions aside being called politicians

<sup>28</sup> PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY The largest political party in Nigeria which was in Government before the 2015 election.

<sup>29</sup> Alliance for progressive congress APC the main opposition party which won the 2015 Nigerian election

*is that tendency for them to give information that is not correct because they want to achieve a political gain (NGC1).*

From NGA 2 and NGC 1 comments, we can deduce that political information giving and receiving especially during an election in Nigeria must be carefully confirmed. There is a tendency for misinformation to attract journalists' attention and subsequent newspaper publications. Such acts, therefore, affect the framing of the political report's content, which also reflects on political journalism in Nigeria.

Another journalist's comment confirms the approach in sourcing out the news, which is authentication of the sources by doing backgrounding. This approach uses issues to determine the worthiness of the news and also keep the confidentiality of their sources.

*Ordinarily, in journalism, we don't release our sources, your sources in this situation will be those in the corridors of power.<sup>30</sup> They are people who have known you for years. If you are on this beat,<sup>31</sup> you have established a relationship most times. You must know how genuine and authentic the source is so that the source will not put you in a problem. Most times when you have information, you should use multiple sources, to confirm the authenticity of the information. If you are not sure, you can hide behind 'alleged'.<sup>32</sup> Sometimes the sources may give you the document to photocopy and give you the materials that you can use to defend your submission. You also should do some investigation into what they tell you. Sometimes you should involve or speak with the person the story concerns. You can go beyond ordinary gatekeeping condition to be the gate. That is why in such a situation you may hold up the publication and to do your findings. If you are not convinced, and your editor is not so convinced, you can decide not to publish the story (NGA3).*

Truth is one of the hallmarks of democracy which requires positive information to thrive. Nigerians journalists and editors have the great need for carefulness always to ensure they uphold the truth. These journalists emphasise the importance of the gatekeeping role of the media and even states that being the gatekeepers implies making the ultimate decision of what to and what not to publish.

#### **9.4. OTHER SOURCES IN POLITICAL NEWS**

Although the emphasis is placed on government sources, journalists and editors also mention additional sources of political news, which includes digital and other participants in the democratic sphere in Nigeria. According to NGA 1,

*They are mainly political parties, INEC, poor people (NGA1).*

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<sup>30</sup> politicians

<sup>31</sup> political reporting

<sup>32</sup> This word 'alleged' is often used by reporters to dissociate themselves from the statement written

The term 'poor people' have been used to describe the electorates. The pressure of instability from the effects of economic recession, corruption and mismanagement of Nigeria's resources have created a wide gap between the government and the citizens. The former lives in affluence and on public funds while the latter is deprived of basic amenities (Akanbi, 2004; Dike, 2005). Content analysis details in Table 7.21 show a portrayal of issues like power, security, corruption, unemployment and welfare, as recurrent challenges of an average Nigerian. These issues are to the extent that most Nigerians cannot afford 200 naira (less than 1 NZD), to purchase a copy of the daily newspaper, thus the appellation 'poor man', 'ordinary citizens'. Most newspaper journalists and editors do not often consult citizens as sources as their views are often despised. Tables 7.19 & 20 show that the numbers of citizens as sources are less than government, political parties, and politicians.

Other ranges of sources are

*... Technology, twitter, news online, press release and grapevine, etc. (NGA2).*

Nigerian newspapers have embraced technology, and most of them update their news contents from these sources, especially news site that is internationally oriented. Access to such websites helps in cutting the cost of direct sourcing for international news because most newspaper organisations cannot afford to employ and maintain foreign correspondence. This dependency creates a problem of echoing the agenda of such news sites which may or may not favour the Nigerian democracy.

NGB1 and NGD 2 by their assertions further confirms findings from the content analysis data. The findings relate to the use of groups and civil society, which was discussed in chapter 7, (see section 7.5) where they were ranked third. They listed that

*Organisations/activist, civil society organisations and other side-lines players who are the secondary sources of information. Everybody in that hierarchy which makes political comments (NGB 1).*

*People we have covered for a period, groups like "Afenifere"<sup>33</sup> which is a pan Yoruba social group, other groups with political affiliations, political parties, chairman of political parties, whom we have interacted with over a period. They can give us an insight into what is happening in the party (NGD2).*

The exciting dimension, however, is that most of the groups in Nigeria do not represent active civil society because of their alliance with political parties. Content analysis data

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<sup>33</sup> Yoruba is one of the dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria and Afenifere claims to represent her political-ethnic interests.

further corroborate this part as sources of political advertorials during the 2015 general election were corporate organisations and groups (See Table 7.9). The newspapers referred to them as sources and also establish their commercial relativeness.

NGC1 and NGD 2 mentions other government agencies such as INEC and political events.

*There are agencies that have some connection with the political government in Nigeria, Independent National Electoral Commission(INEC), which organises election, you can get highly exclusive political news from such agencies, official sources and you can also get unofficial sources from associates of politicians, who may not actually be politicians but have relationships with politicians and they know how the politicians behave, they have information about the politicians and them can give you this information(NGC1).*

*If there is an event that should do with politics, we must cover the event. There are also times that the story breaks and we must get some actions from stakeholders. These could be sources; we have interviewed over a period that can give you hints of what to expect. They call you, and they tell you there is a story, and they want you to follow up (NGD2).*

Nigerian journalists confirm a list of other stakeholders in politics who they consult concerning news sourcing. The order of description above in which the government comes first, followed by politicians, political parties, and corporate organisations when added together comes second while the citizens have a lesser level of use.

## **9.5 NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ABOUT CITIZENS AS (NOT) POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES.**

The content analysis data (Table 7.19) and previous comments show that the newspaper places little emphasis on the use of citizens as sources of news. The journalists interviewed justified their approach with the following points.

### **9.5.1 NON-PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE**

The first reaction was in the form of self-defence and criticism of,

*The level of exposure in this country is such that people often see the media that it is for the elite and this is wrong. For those that are willing they come around, we let them have their say. If you have an issue; we will listen to you. Those at the grassroots, the ordinary man preference may not be political, but the issue affecting the average man is economic, electricity, good roads. There is this I don't care attitude (nonchalant) about what is happening in Government which is wrong. We also reach out to them; we want to know what the ordinary man is thinking about the government policies as it affects them and the politics of the country. We do some Vox pop and hear them out. Politics are various levels; some people are mainly concerned with their local politics, that is who becomes a councillor for their community (NGA1).*

NGA 1 stated that the media tries to reach out to the citizens when they see the need to but that the citizens do not voluntarily relate to the media. This perspective is at odds with the content analysis findings.

NGA 2 also makes the same point about the unwilling nature of most electorates to connect with the print media. The newspapers are seen by the journalists and even the readers, as an elitist medium of political communication, inaccessible to the majority, especially during an election. Nigerians prefer the broadcast media that is more engaging and only 14.2 per cent of Nigerian citizens read at least a newspaper once a week (Oladeji, 2011). He remarked that

*Most citizens don't walk into the newsroom and air their views. You have the newspapers, number, and email address but they wouldn't. Everyone is in a hurry in Nigeria; we have not settled down or resolved to be a nation of democracy. The government you are talking to are deaf and dumb;<sup>34</sup> the budget you are preparing has no input from the people. Where is the "common man"?<sup>35</sup> The media has no role because the masses<sup>36</sup> are gullible. The people have no decision; it is the elites that dictate to the media house (NGA2).*

There is an apparent disconnect between the citizens, the government, and the newspapers. The facilitative and collaborative roles of the media here are also not evident at all. Moreover, the newspapers in Nigeria with their inadequate portrayal of the citizens' voices in the democratic sphere cannot be said to have fulfilled the real essence of the medium as a mass communication instrument.

NGC 1 who is an editor in one of the newspapers studied, was also defensive and argued against adequate use of citizens as sources.

*They are part of it. For instance, in our political page, depending on the issue, we have Vox pop where you can approach anybody to get their view on a political issue. You may not know even the background of the people; it may be a roadside mechanic. Therefore, using a Vox pop, you can get the feel of even the grassroots (NGC1).*

His statement is right as the content analysis further reveals that most citations of citizens as sources in political articles analysed from the Vox pop, classified under opinion articles (See Table 7.20). The media did not engage the citizens in such areas as news stories and letters to editors as is the case from New Zealand newspapers analysis. All the more

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<sup>34</sup> implying that the government does not listen to the people)

<sup>35</sup> this term is used to refer to the average Nigerian citizens

<sup>36</sup> another name for the Nigerian citizens

justification of Nigeria as an emerging democracy, when compared with the types of portrayals of the political news in an election year in New Zealand.

### 9.5.2 IGNORANCE OF NIGERIANS ABOUT POLITICAL NEWS

Furthermore, NGA 3 mentioned other side effects of the attitude shown by the electorates describing it as:

*The ordinary man does not want to read the newspaper; even if he goes online, he can access the paper. Majority of Nigerians do not yet know the importance of the media. Particularly with the coming of the social media and the availability of china phones,<sup>37</sup> and what they call a blog. There is no paywall, but people even online don't want to read stories directly from the news site but social media apps, sent to them. These are often in the form of commentary with their editing and inputs. They don't know the man behind the scene, to verify and authenticate the source of the news before you can decide.*

*People are fed with childish poison on social media, and they are swallowing it. Because everybody is a blogger. And people don't want to ask, where is the source of this information? If it cannot be sued and it can't sue, you can't make the opinion out of it (NGA 3).*

Further seemingly viable justification made for the exclusion of the citizens as sources of news in the gathering of political news includes statements by the interview respondents.

For example,

NGB 1 also argues that,

*One of the challenges we face is that those who are not primary or principal players in politics shy away from relating to the media. Maybe because of some handouts they look forward to getting from the real players. The so-called electorate knows little or nothing about the government on the bigger stage. Even at their local level, there is not so much they know that they can talk. It is a big issue, not having some educated electorates that you can approach (NGB1).*

NGC 2 on the other hand patiently enumerated the expected role of the electorate but the challenges of their use as sources in political news gathering.

*(1) We live in a society where few people want to talk. For instance, an election is going on, XYZ intends to contest, you go to his constituencies, and asked about his past and profile, what did he achieve in the past office he held, the people there will be jaundiced in their expressions and not be forthcoming with information.*

*(2) From the perspective of a state correspondence, the time is not here, the average newspaper has one or two journalists covering a state, apart from Abuja<sup>38</sup> and now this same person is to include five political parties, their campaigns, and activities, the time will not be enough for him to start going from one point to the other.*

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<sup>37</sup>, these are phones imported from China into Nigeria which are cheap and affordable for everyone

<sup>38</sup> Capital city of Nigeria



*(3) The issue of resources, because you need funds to go to the hinterland, to meet the people, to talk to them, that in a way you make up for it by using civil societies organisations. Civil societies groups come up with positions that tend to represent different segments of the communities.*

*(4) The media represent their views, and talking about owing the electorates a responsibility, the voters themselves owe the media response.*

*(5) Most of the voters do not appreciate the work of the press. During the election, electorates take the stance, and which are partisan. Because they belong to different political parties, their views are always represented, but they can do more to help the media. If for instance, an electorate issues a statement, an ordinary man on the street a trader in Alaba market<sup>39</sup> we will publish it. If a community association brings a statement saying 'our road is terrible, this government is not constructing them, we will hear them out. Electorates are expected to go to the assembly, present positions, but some of these people don't even engage their representatives (NGC2).*

The frustration these journalists show is due to the imbalance of the portrayal of citizens in political news. Trust is an issue, as the relationship between the press and the citizens which is expected to be cordial in a liberal democratic state, is not. Most Nigerians are caught up in meeting up with daily challenges of living and are dissenting from the political sphere and government. Unfulfilled promises from corrupt government officials inundate them. Nigerian citizens have become nonchalant, and their interest in political issues are solely for personal gain and not the public good (Fagbadebo, 2007). These series of actions and reactions have resulted in a ripple effect, which affects news processes in an election year in Nigeria.

## **9.6 MEASURING CITIZENS PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL NEWS GATHERING.**

Mass communication ensures an exchange of information within a pluralist state. It involves giving and receiving information that relates to democracy and benefits each participant therein. To further evaluate the reasons enumerated above, the researcher sought to know measures that are in place by the media to measure citizen's contributions to political news. The journalists' responses were varied, and they cited, various means such as feedback mechanism and the broadcast media.

### **9.6.1 FEEDBACK AS A MEANS**

One of the newspapers confirms the use of feedback to engage Nigerian citizens,

*We had a kind of feedback, a phone number that they can send a text to inform about what is happening; then we can follow up and confirm what the information is all about. It's a text message format; it's like a lot of stress for them going to the paper. The message was in the NGA mainly for those that read the paper. ...you have*

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<sup>39</sup> This is a well-known trading centre in Lagos, Nigeria.

*fewer people reading the newspaper, or willing to use the print medium to communicate (NGA3).*

He supported that it is essential to get the views or feedback from the readers, because:

*The comment goes a long way to shape you, and you can see how people are. Sometimes a few remarks are out of different feelings, hatred, or in-depth knowledge, is based on ignorance about what you have written (NGA3).*

Other journalists mentioned that

*We have what we call voices in NGB. Every week we sample the opinion of Nigerians, we bring out what is happening. Sometimes, when there are issues, we let the people speak, make Nigerians react. We also get their response to what is happening. We get people's opinions on what they think about what is happening, but the truth is that this is not as often as what we expect it to be (NGB 1).*

*The print media has a challenge in this area because apart from Vox pop, citizens quickly don't have access to us (NGC1).*

In spite of challenges, the newspaper organisations have established means of eliciting feedback and responses from their readers and the electorates. But the question is, how effective are these means of feedback in the newspapers when compared to other media forms?

### **9.6.2 BROADCAST MEDIA FEEDBACK**

The effectiveness of this feedback mechanism is examined, and compared to the broadcast media which appears to be a more accessible means of getting feedback from the citizens. NGA 3 said,

*Unfortunately; people are more into what they can see. That is where their attention is. You find feedbacks in the form of I-reporting in the channels,<sup>40</sup> people want to send you photographs of things or even videos, but tell them to put something on the print, it's so hard for them, it is easier for them to send in pictures of what they have seen (NGA3).*

*Compared to the electronic media, which most times have different phone-in programmes in which anybody is free to express themselves if you understand the issue and you can call? But, print media in Nigeria is almost more elitist than the electronic. You can hardly find the grassroots come into comment; you can only get their feelings if you go to them and break down the information to them. Let them understand, and they can now contribute to the problem. When it comes to information, the broadcast is more representative. Everybody can have a radio which has also broken down the languages. That will connect to the people, unlike the print (NGC1).*

The above expression confirms further what has been established by numerous studies that the broadcast media especially the radio is often a preferred means of election

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<sup>40</sup> a national broadcast media in Nigeria

information, dissemination, education and receiving feedback from the electorates (Obboh, 2016; Ojebode & Akingbulu, 2009; Ojekwe, 2015).

Moreover, there is language restriction in the fact that most Nigerian national newspapers published in the official language, which is the English Language. Quite some citizens are more fluent in their other ethnic languages (MediaReach/OMP, 2016).

Media choices also seem to be an important dimensions for citizens in countries undergoing political transitions as they “influence the development of political attitudes and thus have political consequences” Loveless (2008; 2010 quoted in Camaj, 2014, pp.188-189). In the same vein, “media consumption studies show that radio is the primary news source for most citizens as they can choose to listen to vernacular stations geared toward specific ethnic communities and or national language stations” (Horowitz & Long, 2016 p.354). Also, radio broadcast programmers deliberately relay engaging programmes on politics, elections or other societal issues that can attract varied and specific listeners (Horowitz & Long, 2016). Teshome (2009, p.87) states that “illiteracy may increase the significance of the broadcast media (radio and television) in many African countries”. This scenario is real in Nigeria where the literacy rate is at 65.1% (Abdussalam, 2018). One will agree that 40 per cent of the population can sway for or against an election outcome in a credible democracy. However, the focus of the thesis is limited to commercialised newspapers.

## **9.7 THE PROCESS OF EDITING POLITICAL NEWS**

Once journalists gather political news the researcher sought to find out the process of editing the information to become the published news article. The examination is to enable the researcher to ascertain the types of influences, which are factors affecting the frames the news could go through before being selected and presented.

### **9.7.1 POLITICAL EDITOR'S AND JOURNALISTS' ROLE IN GATEKEEPING**

NGA1 who is a political editor, states that:

*Firstly, the news comes from the reporter to the desk here or directly to the news desk. It is forwarded to the political editor who will look at it and work on it. If it's worth it, use it, if not we discard it (NGA1).*

He also describes the process of editing as:

*As the report comes, we look at it and should assess how truthful the facts presented in the story is. Sometimes, I can call the reporter, or the sources involved or confirm from the office (NGA1).*

He confirmed however that he does not edit all the news that comes from the media organisation,

*...not alone, not all of them, I can ask the other reporters to work on the other articles. There is the editor in chief who may also sometimes work on the stories (NGA1).*

NGC1 mentioned the process of editing information to become news from political interviews they had conducted. He listed the factors considered before selecting a news item.

*Generally, in journalism, we talk about prominence. You cannot compare a senator<sup>41</sup> to a house of assembly member<sup>42</sup>. Naturally, the senator is in a bigger (more prominent) political cloud and may have more knowledge about politics. Another factor is expertise regarding the subject. If there is a lawyer in PDP, you can call him, even when he is not high regarding hierarchy in the party but because he has expertise on an issue, you can engage him and gain your story. You can use his knowledge to determine your story (NGC1).*

Summarily, prominence or importance of the subject in the news and relevance or expertise are two primary considerations before deciding on using the news.

NGD1 explained on the other hand, their process of editing information to become news as:

*I look at currency or the immediacy of the news that comes in the relevance. Is it worth, are those the necessary things? As a political editor, my responsibility is to help and direct a news editor in beefing up all political news. I have some pages which we feature, or I can convert them into the basic news. We use them for political features, interviews. There are sometimes; reporters may send news that is very current. If I believe it is worthy or can impact on the national landscape or has some currency and can shape political discourse, I immediately project it. I have a dedicated website, email where I store all political stories that come to me (NGD1).*

NGD 2 and NGD 3 also affirm that

*We have the line editor; we have the beat editor, the sub-editor, deputy editor who oversee such. Those are the gatekeepers, they see a story, and they approve whether it should go or not (NGD2).*

*Yes, everybody, every right-thinking journalist is supposed are gatekeepers. There are traditional gatekeepers. Every organisation has gatekeepers, the political editor, assistant political editors. There are times we as the journalists point out attention to some stories which should not be featured (NGD3).*

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<sup>41</sup> a member elected to the Upper house or the Federal legislature

<sup>42</sup> elected into the lower parliament of assembly

Responses have been evaluated above about the process of gathering political news, the use of sources, verification of those sources, and getting feedback. The journalists and editors defended their positions, and this has been weighed with the content analysis result.

In summary, we can deduce that Nigerian newspaper uses government at all levels, but the federal government is the primary source of political news. The source is supplemented by the state, local governments, and political parties. Unfortunately, these government sources, do not often disclose unfavourable news about their political parties or government to the media. The newspaper's editors and journalists, therefore, verify each source by one another; the government sources are used to check what the grapevine sources say and vice versa. They also ensure the use of quotation without citing the sources as most of them prefer to be unnamed to protect their interests.

In line with the technological innovation tradition, Nigerian newspapers also use other news sources like Twitter, electoral agencies, online news sources, and other social media, although these have some disadvantages. Also, political news editors consider factors such as prominence and currency in selecting their political news. A leading limiting factor to access the electorates is the fact that Nigerian political journalists believe the electorates see their media as elitist. On their part, the newspapers organisations have made a few provisions for feedback from the readers. All these factors affect the process of selecting political news during the Nigerian 2015 election, which are not mostly positive impacts.

## **9.8 CHALLENGES OF INVESTIGATING POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA SPHERES**

The literature in chapter four establishes the fact that challenges abound in political news reporting. The evidence shows among New Zealand journalists and editors' interviews responses. This same approach is discussed from the perspectives of Nigerian political journalists while gathering and writing news during the election. The description reveals some problems involved which can be used to compare with established conventional professionalisation means of news gathering.

Scholars like Phillips (2014) and Örnebring (2009) have determined that one of the challenges of professionalisation about covering democracies is that the government are not the only threat to independence or autonomy of the press, as political parties and

commercial pressures also constrain and shape the work. Aside from these, individual journalists also have a large number of constraints and limitation on their practices.

### **9.8.1 EDITORS' CHALLENGES IN GATHERING POLITICAL NEWS**

Editors interviewed enumerated the various problems encountered in the process of political news gathering and narrate their experiences on election coverage.

NGA 1 states that his first challenge as political editor in editing political news is

*Communicating with the onsite or on the beat reporters to verify information may be difficult. Most of these reporters are based in the capital city, the only means of communicating mostly with your political sources are through telephone conversations, which is not most reliable as much as the face-to-face conversation. Most of the stakeholders are based in Abuja<sup>43</sup>. At times when I call, they don't pick because there is no one-on-one rapport between us [that is between the editors and the sources]. When there is no fostered relationship, it affects the flow of information and verifying the information from the direct and independent sources (NGA1).*

This first challenge shows a structural difference in the New Zealand political news unit and that of Nigeria. Most of the newspaper organisations and the political office desks in Nigeria are based in Lagos state, which is the commercial nerve of the country. The federal government executive and legislative members' offices are in Abuja, the capital city. But in New Zealand, most of the newspapers examined are also based in Auckland the commercial nerve of the country, but the political desk is sited in the Beehive in Wellington, which also houses the Prime minister and the parliament. Therefore, lack of direct access to the politicians, when they need verification on political news is a challenge to Nigerian editors.

The second challenge is,

*...movement, we don't have that efficient transport system in the country, and one cannot be everywhere at the same time. So, if you are stationed in a place, it's like you are hiding out in that location (NGA1).*

The second challenge comes out of the infrastructural laxity of Nigerian society from essential amenities like good road networks within and outside the city areas (Foster & Pushak, 2011). This challenge affects not just the newspaper practitioners' but also productivity in other sectors of the economy (Tunde & Adeniyi, 2012)

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<sup>43</sup> Abuja is the capital city of Nigeria and the political hub, this interview was conducted in Lagos which is the economic hub of Nigeria and where the media houses selected were based

In another newspaper, (NGC1) the political editor listed four other forms of challenges both as a political journalist and editor, aside from the ones discussed.

1. *Digital technology; we are not there yet regarding technology. Last year I was in the USA for a program, I saw that an average journalist there have almost everything. He can stay anywhere and respond to an e-mail (NGC1).*
2. *The higher you go, they say the colder it becomes but concerning the political editor, the higher you go, the hotter it becomes. Because of that position you are occupying, there is pressure from all kinds of interests who will always want to influence you. Some of them, if they can't get you to compromise, may resort to blackmail. Some of them are even close to the owners of the organisation, and they call them and concoct all kinds of lies against you, which could also affect your job from the group if you are not careful. They may remove you from your position (NGC1).*
3. *Most of the reporters these days have a low standard. In the sense that the quality of the work they bring in, it takes a lot of effort, to make out something out of it. Their standard is so low; the stories are not well written. They don't cross-check the facts, and there are so many issues of libel. For example, if somebody sends you a story from Zamfara<sup>44</sup>, and you are in Lagos, you can't verify from here, but you should depend mainly on what they have said (NGC1).*
4. *As the political editor, one faced with the problem of managing men and women with different behavioural patterns, i.e., journalists (NGD1).*

Chapter three established the importance of the digital sphere and its impacts on a functioning public sphere. Unfortunately, most Nigerians are to have the desired level of usage of these platforms. Although there is a growing use of mobile digital means, the electorates are often side-lined by fake news sites and reposted news from social media platforms. The majority is yet to master the art of accessing the primary websites of the newspapers.

On the other hand, the journalists and editors are also yet to have the desired level of access and use of these platforms. Their limitations are caused by the sole proprietors who do not maximally provide for these needs. The quality of information churned out as political news is compromised as a result of the inability to overcome some of these challenges. There is a high level of partisan politics in the Nigerian media which often affect media practitioners. Some Nigerian journalists even cross the boundaries of professionalism and ethical behaviour. As a result, they become a form of challenge to the

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<sup>44</sup> This is a state in the far Northern part of the country, and this media house is based in the southern part

political editors' discharge of their roles. When journalists and editors do not agree, it can affect the framing of political news in an election year.

### **9.8.2 SECURITY AND THREATS TO LIFE AND JOB**

Security is generally a challenge to Nigerian journalists given their history of nationalism, persecution from the military, and denial of rights by the government as discussed in chapter two of the thesis. The military dictators were quite known for their manhandling of journalists. "Examples have been primarily in prosecuting reporters and journalists for sedition using the laws and decrees that date back to military rule" (Akoh et al., 2012:84).

But the dimension of its continual presence in the democratic sphere is alarming. With the advent of the democratically elected government in 1999, almost two decades, one would have thought the threat to the life of the journalist would have been done away. Instead, it seems to have taken a different dimension.

NGA 2 was quite excited judging from the response to this type of challenges faced by political journalists. The excitement was because he has covered both military and democratically elected governments in Nigeria.

His response, therefore, dates to the military governments of General Babangida, Abacha and Abdulsalam (See chapter 2, sections 2.7.3 & 3, section 3.4.2).

*Ahhh! Politics! You want to expose what they are doing; they will come after you. During the military, I was in Triumph<sup>45</sup> in Kano<sup>46</sup>, when I saw Babangida's transition program, I wrote a piece that the transition is going nowhere, that Nigeria is at a crossroad, the following week, security personnel started asking about me (NGA 2).*

The threats sometimes go further to affect one's family members according to NGA2.

*The other way, you are married, and maybe your wife is working in another organisation under the government, she may be suspended or sacked. They may ask her "if your husband thinks he can write whatever he likes." Someone even asked me, "do you think you can write more than Azikiwe?"<sup>47</sup> Sometimes you may be sacked (NGA2).*

NGA 3 corroborated the use of threats but this time by politicians

*Sometimes some people will call and threaten. But you still should do your work. We are living in a society where there is no security and that every politician in Nigeria is so desperate to win. They do not want scandal even when they are*

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<sup>45</sup> One of the newspapers in Nigeria

<sup>46</sup> a cosmopolitan city in the Northern part of Nigeria,

<sup>47</sup> See section 2.7.2



*engaging in shameful acts. They always want to be portrayed in a positive light. (NGA3)*

Furthermore, three other journalists reiterated the same point,

*Our politicians are violent or tend to violence. If you are covering and you write anything that is not to their interest, and that may jeopardise their political interest, they can go the extra mile to get back at you. There are cases of reporters whom acid was poured on or were assassinated. So, if you are reporting politicians, you must be very careful (NGC1).*

*The issue of personal security is there, and society does not help the journalist to improve them. When somebody sees you at an APC event, he concludes that you are an APC member. Then tomorrow when he sees you at PDP event, he will query your presence, while you were mainly doing your work (NGC2).*

*Violence has become part of the political culture of this country. It is so endemic, so covering political rallies may be dangerous. Out of every ten (10) political rallies that you cover be assured of violence in seven (NGD2).*

A personal ordeal was narrated by one of the journalists to substantiate these claims.

*During covering the 2009 election as soon as the winner was announced and it is evident that they did not like the name that was announced, people went to town. People, therefore, attack one another especially journalists. Journalists were their targets. At that time, I had to remove my cloth and pass through the bush path to get to my hotel. There was a threat to life. (NGD2).*

The reality is that no news is worth dying for so that one can be alive to investigate the next. Nigerian media practitioners till date still face numerous levels of attacks to their lives from electorates, political parties and sometimes their media owners. Even with the presence of armed personnel at polling centres, Nigerian elections are often not without some fatal casualties to human lives (Collier & Vicente 2014). The situation created makes the journalist operate under insecurity which affects the framing and portrayal of political discourse in Nigerian newspapers. Freedom of expression is a hallmark of a liberal society, but when media practitioners cannot freely perform their watchdog and radical roles, the establishment of democracy is at stake.

### **9.8.3 DISREGARD FROM SOURCES**

Another challenge encountered in the process of gathering political news is related to the timing and access to sources who are often politicians and government spokespersons. The politicians often claim they are busy and not interested in keeping appointments with journalists.

*There are times when you are at a place all night for information; this is a risk; you should hit the road (travel) at 2 am (NGA3).*

The lack of respect also extends to the electorates.

*The public has no respect for the journalist. At the end of every day, people retire to their home buy newspapers. But at that scene of the events, the journalists are treated as if he is not human. When others sit down, they will expect you to stand... By the next morning, they will call in to query us about not featuring in an event covered by the media. How can we show it when you deny us from having access (NGC2)?*

Moreover,

*...depending on the political environment. You are faced with politicians who want to keep information to themselves. As a reporter, getting access to the report. When I was in the National assembly as a political correspondent, sometimes you must bribe and bamboozle (like in military action which means to fight your way through) your way to get some information (NGD1).*

Journalists resort to unethical means to get their required political information. Such a practice may affect the credibility of the information gathered. The relationship between the media and the Nigerian government, politicians, is not as cordial, respectful as expected. It is not a symbiotic engagement but a parasitic one, which affects the structure and distribution of power, which will be tilted or imbalanced.

#### **9.8.4 INSUFFICIENT HUMAN RESOURCES**

Insufficient human resources was one of the challenges that featured from the discussion of New Zealand journalists' interview. It is also listed by NGB 1 here, who was concerned about the geographical scope of the location allocated to each reporter to cover during an election.

*Lagos is so huge for one journalist to cover. One is trying to cover so many areas at the same time. It's interesting going to Ikoyi, Apapa, and Lekki<sup>48</sup>. Otherwise, you must depend on the judgement and information of other journalists who are your competition. This sometimes means you must run from one end to another. You must drive since there is no driver, you also see other journalists collecting money from politicians, and you can't collect, and you are like someone who will tell them (NGB1).*

He, however, mentioned the solution to the second challenge, which is also in line with the adopted action of New Zealand political journalists.

*...we mobilise all the journalists even from other beats to cover the election period. All journalists from different beats become political reporters (NGB1).*

The journalists from the other beats in the newspaper's organisation are drafted, to adequately cover the election. The increase in journalists' number reduces the pressure

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<sup>48</sup> These locations are at differing points Northern and southern part of Lagos state.

at the time although it may also affect the portrayal of political news when some amateur in political reporting are used to cover the election.

#### **9.8.5 SIDE EFFECTS FROM ECONOMIC RECESSION.**

Content analysis shows that some issues portrayed under government political activities were fallouts from Nigeria social problems. For instance, at the time of the conduct of this interview, Nigeria was experiencing economic inflation and downturn because of the crash in the crude oil price which is the main export of the economy (See section 7.5). These issues are reflected in the process of gathering and framing political news for the 2015 election.

*This is particularly a very tough time for the media owners and practitioners, and which is evident to all of us is getting the newsprint. I don't know whether you peek through our warehouse. If you were here last year, as big as this storage is, it was filled to the brim with newsprints. Sometimes we have newsprints that lasted for five months. Go there now; you will not find one reel of newsprint. This is partly due to the restriction of foreign exchange. Sourcing for foreign exchange is very difficult. It is affecting us. This has shot up our cost of production (NGC2).*

*Again, the sales copy sales are also dropping because of the dwindling purchasing power of the people. People, used to buy two to three papers, can hardly afford to buy one now. The competition is very stiff in the market. The advert is also another area. The newspaper is mostly sustained by adverts and advertorials, not by copy sales. Advert opportunity is even dwindling very seriously. If you pick up a copy of the newspapers, you can count the number of adverts you find there (NGC2).*

Invariably, because of the ownership structure of Nigerian newspapers, which is sole proprietorship, many organisations are unable to alleviate the challenges of their editors and journalists because of the market trends. The economic meltdown affected production and caused an extra organisational management burden for journalists and editors in Nigeria.

#### **9.8.6 NEWSPAPER ORGANISATION'S PRESSURE**

The series of pressure is not limited to the effect of the economy as the newspaper's organisation management structure, and political affiliation affects the portrayal of political news. Political scholars in Nigeria have often cited the media owners' political interests as a factor that jeopardises Nigerian democracy. The ownership pattern makes the press to become advocative instead of being radical when analysing political issues (Eribo, 1997; Olukoyun, 2004; Tobechukwu, 2007).

NGA2 and NGD 2, therefore, voiced that:

*"That you don't know the organisation you work for. Somebody who is a 'powerful figure' (Influential) in the country may call the owner or your editor and try to induce the editor. The moment you file your report, you don't know whether the technical person to package the story is on the payroll of anybody<sup>49</sup> (NGA2).*

*At times, the interest of the paper, the in-house style of your organisation is a challenge, where it tilts. For example, maybe the chairman of your group is a friend to somebody, and a story you are about to carry is a negative one when the owner sees it, he kills it (NGD2).*

NGD 2 emphatically resorted when queried further that:

*"Yes, I have seen, where a story is killed because of opposing interests" (NG2).*

He rested his comments pointing to the fact that:

*There are some instances when you want to get some information about a political party, and you meet with stiff opposition because they don't want to divulge such information to you (NGD2).*

He finally laments that:

*In election coverage, you don't know where ownership interest lies. There is no permanency in interest. The person who is the friend of the house today, the house may decide that he is no longer their friend. Information also doesn't flow smoothly the way it is supposed to regarding interest. So, you write a story, and you expect it published. You will not know that one or two people who are special than you or better placed, it did not conform to their interest and so you get into trouble (NGD2).*

This excerpt is a bold declaration but confirms other scholars' assertion as discussed above. Analysis of past election and even military government have also pointed out the failure of the press in this regards when it comes to the coverage of democracy (Ette, 2000; Kasoma, 1995).

The process of political news gathering is highly challenging, and it affects the portrayal and framing of political news. Although journalists and editors are working within professional boundaries to ensure credibility, fairness and truthful reporting in an election year, there are situations beyond their control that affect their duties.

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<sup>49</sup> by anybody he meant politicians or those in Government who wants to impose their interests

## **CHAPTER TEN: INFLUENCES OF FUNDING, REGULATIONS, AND TRAINING ON NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF ELECTION IN AN ESTABLISHED DEMOCRACY: PERSPECTIVES FROM 2014 NEW ZEALAND ELECTIONS.**

### **10.1 INTRODUCTION.**

The relevance of discussing funding in this study cannot be overemphasised since the focus is on the portrayal of political news by commercialised newspapers. More so, the sources of funding have a probable influence on political news portrayal (Ariely, 2015; McMenamin et al., 2013). But as stated earlier in chapter 4, commercialisation of the media happens on four levels, which are the content, the journalists, the media companies, and the media markets (Wadbring, 2013).

This study focuses on two of the four levels which are the content and the journalists. The concerns examined by research question three is how all the forms of funding mentioned during the in-depth interviews, affect the portrayal of political news and the journalists who frame the story. The presence or the absence of government regulations on political advertisements and advertorials also affect balance in the portrayal of political news. Training of political journalists which is the hallmark of professionalism will also be evaluated about the importance of developing democracy. This chapter is tailored to discuss the responses of New Zealand journalists and editors to the Research question 3 which is:

(3.) What are the sources of funding for political news, and the influence of sponsorships, training, and incentives or inducements on the process of political news coverage and dissemination?

**TABLE 10.1 THEMES DISCUSSED UNDER RQ 3 FOR NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS**

<b>Section</b>	<b>Themes Discussed</b>
Section 10.2	MEANS OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS.
Section 10.2.1	NEWSPAPER ORGANISATIONS
Section 10.2.2	NEWSPAPERS SALES, SUBSCRIPTIONS AS SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS
Section 10.3	INCENTIVES YES, INDUCEMENTS NO!
Section 10.4	ADVERTS, ADVERTS CENSORING, REGULATED BUDGET AND EDITING
Section 10.5	SPONSORSHIPS AS SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS.
Section 10.6	PUBLIC RELATIONS CAREER PATH, PROSPECTS FOR NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL JOURNALISTS
Section 10.7	THE TRAINING AVAILABLE TO POLITICAL JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS.

## **10.2 MEANS OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS.**

The interviews conducted among political journalists revealed the various means of funding or generating resources for and by New Zealand commercialised newspapers. However, views expressed are different on the levels of its effects on news selection, framing, processing, and presentation. Most of the journalists and editors interviewed from New Zealand newspapers think that they feel little pressure and operate under an acceptable level of autonomy.

### **10.2.1 NEWSPAPER ORGANISATIONS**

The first discovery is that the newspaper organisations themselves often sponsor news production and presentation for the election. The occurrence should not be unusual, but the situation sometimes includes a special budget for specially pre-planned programmes. The budgets are to enable the newspapers to create an image of success, a form of stunt publicity about its commercial value. The aim is to drive continuous patronage from readers. Such programmes are carried out with other media outfits like the television stations within the conglomerate.

For example, NZA 1 said

*We were given a large budget to do a political televised airing of the campaign ... a website which we did. I went to the head of the studios; we had to try all sorts of cameras and makeup. It was a very high-cost event, and I know that the cheque came from the Chief Executive of the NZA because she wanted, I think to promote NZA, which had not been in existence for very long because of all the boardroom machinations. She wanted a high-quality event that would meet various*

*organisation's politics. Because there was a possibility, I think it might have been around a [share market] float. At that point, it was done with building our image, and it is not something that I have done much. We did merge with the commercial radio station, so this little enterprise involved me and another journalist and a couple of radio journalists. That is as far as it goes about the last election (NZA1).*

Following the same argument, NZA 2 also confirms that while covering an election, his organisation meets up with all needed financial obligations and that the budget was sufficient for the needs of journalists during the election. He expresses in an emphatic tone that,

*Yes, with the election campaign, we will have a draft budget. Yes, we never have any problem. It's like you cover games or the world cup and you should spend a lot of money, so they spend money as well. They may cut a lot of part of that is very expensive.... even by the most non-political editor, they must see that the money is used (NZA2).*

Although he opines that sometimes,

*...the money spent on polls is very expensive. They only have one major policy poll. They get them behind one important poll to tell you what might be (NZA2).*

NZB 1 also agreed that their newspaper organisation was interested in increasing the budget for election coverage.

*They have always been focused on getting the best coverage possible during an election. They sort of support that, whatever it means, usually they have an increase in staffing resources at the election (NZB1).*

Nonetheless, this increase in resources during the election, the journalists interviewed did not believe it created undue pressure on their reporting. So much so that NZA 1 did not feel she needed to understand the commercial side of her organisation which she gives little thought to:

*I wish I knew my company structure and commercial side a bit more than I do. I pay very little attention to it. I keep saying that I got absolutely no pressure. When I am sitting at my desk, working out what to cover, I never think of shareholders. I never think of what the general manager would want but that said, we probably all after the same thing. I think there is not much in New Zealand because it's so small. There are changes occasionally, I mean the NZA is interesting, they first have a reputation for being conservative but it's on tabloid now, it was a conservative, pro-business pro-growth, broad base paper. ...this has changed, that is not any more commercialisation than it was when we didn't have a website, we are the commercial organisation, and we still have shareholders (NZA1).*

New Zealand commercialised newspaper has all the trappings of such types of financing when compared with some other parts of the world like the US, Australia and Britain, and Nigeria. Their newspaper is in a tabloid form, pro-business, pro-growth and have

shareholders but there is an entrenched culture of inclusivism and biculturalism, a sense of liberal orientation towards democracy in New Zealand generally (Liu, 2005). The culture is easy to practice because of the relative smallness geographically (New Zealand has a land area of 103,738 square miles) and population (4871, 300, as at 31st March 2018) which affects every facet of life, including dealing with such important organ as the news media (StatsNZ, 2017). Journalists and editors, therefore, benefit from such societal inclination towards self-censorship, a social responsibility which works well as a requirement for quality news portrayal during an election.

In the same vein, NZB also confirms the lack of pressure from the NZB conglomerate and that there is:

*None I am here to do my job. Of course, I care about numbers and how many people are reading us and all those things. At the end of the day, if you are producing photos that nobody wanted to read, what the essence of your journalism. We are supposed to be a sort of interesting vehicle for measuring out, in engaging. In our age, there is more interesting journalism than there has ever been. I think that competition is a whole lot of ... so many little different media outlooks out there. There is much more competition out there, and that is increasing because the competition is what drives journalism. I think this is a golden age for journalism. There is money around but better journalism (NZB1).*

NZB perspective, however emphasises engaging the readers with the selection of political news without jeopardising their commercial essence. She assuredly states that:

*Our political bureau is quite independent of any of the different arms of NZB, for example, am the political editor for another twin publication and the various political newspapers and our online news site. I don't report to any field editor; I report to the Chief Editor like any other. We are quite autonomous; we provide news across the entire NZB world (NZB1).*

The statement further confirms that there is no undue pressure from the conglomerate to shun out political news during the election to boost sales. Somewhat political news itself and the journalists determines the portrayal and framing of the political news. They work in a group form,

*When we come in the morning, we have a big political reporting team, but our agenda is decided by each reporter. Each decides what they are going to report on, come up with stories and then find them. Once you have the story, we do everything; we manage the publication folder. For the newspapers, it's the same thing; we get an order comes in; we report that again and do the packaging from start to finish, do the headline, select the photograph, copy set it into the hole on the page, approve it and then publish, and that is it. There is no great media organisation that is coming over at the top (NZB 1).*



These declarations point out a trend in spite that these newspapers are conglomerates; they often see the need to invest more during the election to have the desired effective coverage. The investment, in turn, will generate readership and financial returns. The result on the political journalists is that it gives them the liberty to source for news appropriately without any undue pressure. There is a complementary role between the organisation's expectation and the performance of the reporters. Both expect the news published to sell and have a general appeal to a broad audience. The result produces a tripartite effect, with profit for the owners, quality and engaging political news for the readers and professional recognition cum satisfaction for the journalists.

However, a New Zealand media scholar believe that media conglomeration in New Zealand newspapers has resulted in some adverse effects such as contraction of newsroom from staff layoff, reduction in news content and inactive public discourse engagements (Hope, 2017).

#### **10.2.2 NEWSPAPERS SALES, SUBSCRIPTIONS AS SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS.**

Newspaper sales and subscriptions have always been one of the established means of generating income for a commercialised newspaper (Hamilton, 2004). The sales figure is measured both regarding the hard copy sales which although declining is complemented with the online views (Hollander et al., 2011). The impressive dimension here is that the presence of political news and election period appears to increase newspapers interest (Curran et al., 2009). New Zealand journalists agree with this assertion as noted in their comments.

NZA 1 responds to the influence of political news and newspaper sales that:

*I went through an exercise. I thought we did a lot of political news last year and went through all of the print edition first pages. The stories that led the paper, they might not seem very many to you. But they were about 30, they are all really strong good stories. When you say political stories, they are not about politicians, they tend to be about housing, about kids in the welfare home. This is what we would classify as political stories. It's an impressive display (NZA1).*

She further justifies her point that political news can sell a newspaper ...

*When it's good news, yes. I don't know I never get the sale figures; you must ask the commercial arms. But we are always proud to have the front-page lead (NZA1).*

Nonetheless, she balances up the use of political news by stating that,

*Now I'm contradicting myself, even though we are expected to have a bit of attitude when it's called for, we must be careful in election coverage, not to let it saturate all*

*coverage. You do have to leave a bit to the voter to make up their mind on these things. You would have read the report about the town hall meetings on a Monday, before the election where Edward Snowden<sup>50</sup> was being screened and Dotcom<sup>51</sup>. We don't have to ram it down their throat that the guys are unusual. It's the foreign guys telling New Zealand voters what they thought of the Prime Minister (NZA1).*

The incident mentioned in the excerpt above, however, had a positive effect on the Prime Minister's image and electorates' reaction before the 2014 September election. The narratives show that the political news influence on sales of newspapers is present because of issues portrayal in the coverage of an election. NZA 2 also agrees with the same supposition of political news selling a paper, though this has thinned out with time due to sensationalism.

*It sells when it's a big story, not junk. There are such a lot of newspapers. But day to day, much less, the political news does not sell paper as much as it used to. The news is a statement, they do surveys, and I think the political news is the hardest to get on the front page. A long time when I worked in NZA, it relied on political news as the lead story. They will be up late at night because they have not got the lead story or anything, they could see to fill the gap, which does not happen anymore. The coverage in newspapers is far more sensational in New Zealand than it used to be. It is believed that some views of the management are some important political news does not sell the paper. When there is a big political story or scandal, they sell. The readers are not interested anymore if you are not a political fanatic. What happens is that the readers have changed their radical forms (NZA 2).*

NZB 1's philosophy about newspaper influence on sales is expressed about the causal effects of the situation as

*What I think it is. These things are not mutually exclusive, but what you are trying to tell people, its content is written by the readers, what they care about and what is interesting. Through social media, you can get connected to readers and find out what is important to them. Let say what they watch motivates them. They don't only think of newspapers more and more. It's a vicious circle, we want to know what people care about, it's not about selling them the newspapers, and it's about connecting and understanding what motivates most readers and what they want to read about (NZB1).*

In setting the agenda for political news, New Zealand journalists and editors look out for what will interest their readers. Such a portrayal of relevant issues in the political sphere automatically stimulates readers' interest and newspapers subscriptions. The means of

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<sup>50</sup> Edward Snowden is an American, whistle-blower who has fuelled debates over mass surveillance, government secrecy an online investigative journalist who revealed some information about the incumbent Prime Minister spying on other neighbouring countries before the 2014 election. The revelation was published in Nicky Hager's book.

<sup>51</sup> Dotcom is a German who recently settled in New Zealand and founded a political party called the Internet party

measuring the interests of the electorates about political news are mostly through the use of social media platforms. The newspapers practitioners adopt the technology of innovation to have a more accurate portrayal and subsequent readers' satisfaction and patronage.

*I think more of digital rather than the newspapers these days. I think you can see that when there is a big political issue, if you look at NZB online version, if you look at what people are sharing through the social media, the most read, the most commented on, the most shared are political stories. This generates a lot of interactions with readers. There is a lot of the stories and by issues going on in Facebook (NZB 1).*

But in describing specifically, the hard copies of the newspaper's sales figure from political news,

NZB riposte that:

*No, I really cannot do that, am not sure, I mean during an election period they might want to buy a newspaper (NZB1)*

NZC 1 on the other hand, acknowledges the sources of funding for his media organisation, precisely as the reader's subscriptions whom he produces for:

*I sell subscriptions to corporates; I would negotiate with some NFAT, Fonterra, and ASB, to subscribe to my daily newsletter and charge them 10,000 dollars per year. That was how I made money, I would sell a lot of subscriptions to that organisation, and hopefully, it was more money that it would have cost me to do it (NZC 1).*

He accentuates that the goal of his political newspaper is,

*Yes, profit, I would love to make more profit, not the huge profit. Make money for instance by getting more sponsors on board and lots of subscribers.*

He further opines that the digital media to him is a threat to the hard copy's newspapers,

*... Because it is a group of journalists giving their news away for free. Not making any money is going to destroy those two companies<sup>52</sup> and destroy the journalists who made do amidst the change. That's the truth, and they are not changing, they are continuing the disaster (NZC1).*

New Zealand newspapers do not have paywalls for their online newspapers. The decision is because of the belief that their news sites visits will generate enough revenue from advertisers and because neither of the dominant news company wants to move first and suffer the drop-in sales and advertising. But NZC 1 disagrees with this notion and cites the examples of other countries comparing their profitability to New Zealand.

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<sup>52</sup> Referring to NZA and NZB newspapers

*I find it interesting, Africa, Asia, China, India; they have very vibrant profitable growing newspapers industries. It's interesting; people love reading the newspaper, their patrons and advertisers need to be there and pay a lot of money. Why is that, it's because, in those countries, there is culture or histories of news and newspapers which seems to be more resistant to change. Who knows, maybe access to the internet is harder in some part of the country than other parts, not everyone is got a big laptop or big broadband. In some countries, data is too costly or difficult to get. It's not easy to get your news on the phone. For the most convenient and cost-effective way to get your news is through the newspapers. That's why there is a vibrant, profitable news business.*

The above expression confirms an acclaimed trend that the future of the hard copies newspapers is threatened in the developed world compared to some other parts of the world (Buchanan, 2013). There are two sides to the argument about the influence of political news on sales subscription, as some respondents agree that digital traffic generate income while others said it does not.

### **10.3 INCENTIVES YES, INDUCEMENTS NO!**

The interviews with Nigerian journalists (conducted earlier than New Zealand) reveal some negative dimension to generating funding for political journalists and editors (chapter 11 discussed this issue more). The discovery, therefore, for comparison's sake prompted the question about the issue of inducements or incentives depending on the perspective of New Zealand journalists and editors with regards to the framing of political news. The dictionary meaning of these terms considered, although different journalists responded based on their experience while covering an election. Incentives are 'something that incites or tends to incite to action or greater effort, as a reward offered for increased productivity'. Inducements are the act of inducing which is to lead or move by persuasion or influence, as to some action or state of mind (Dictionary.com, 2108).

Although NZA 1 sought more clarification afterwards, she first reacted with a concise,

*Incentives for what? None whatsoever. When you say incentives, does it have a different meaning? The company pays for any travel and accommodation and meal expenses when her reporters are on assignment whether that's coverings sports game or an election. So, that's absolute; the company pays (NZA1).*

She, therefore, enunciates the financial responsibilities in the form of incentives of her media organisation

*Yes absolutely, unless some journalists undertake an expense and do not declare it. There are times for example when there might be something going on in North of Wellington and the Wairarapa<sup>53</sup>. That I would jump in my car and go and cover, and then I forget to claim for petrol, that can happen but that only because I was slack*

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<sup>53</sup>, both are locations in the Northern part of New Zealand

*enough not to claim. I would speak to all my staff and myself to put in claims for actual expenses (NZA1).*

She further confirms that incentives from their organisations are the norm:

*I don't think so because it is basic and accepted here. Journalists should not be out of pocket in carrying out their job (NZA1).*

However, the response to the issue of inducement was categorically and vehemently denied, indicating no knowledge of such.

*None that am aware of because that will be a big scandal in New Zealand. There have rarely been scandals. I don't think it goes on. I can't think of anywhere else where it goes on. I mean there have been a few instances in Britain where they get cash from groups or lobby who want to ask questions in Parliament, but I have never heard anything close to that in New Zealand (NZA 1).*

NZA 2 response to the issue of inducement among journalists is also an emphatic,

*No, he will be thrown out of the job. No. That is as far as questionable behaviour goes (NZA 2).*

On the same issue of inducement, NZB 1 replies with a rhetorical question:

*Are they bribed? To be honest, I have never come across. I think it will be obvious when you see it and am not saying it has never happened, but I can't recall any incidents to look at and it being like...I think it will leap out at you (NZB1).*

NZC 1 response to if New Zealand political journalists are susceptible to inducement or commercial pressure is also an assertion that,

*I don't think much in New Zealand. Because our journalists are independent and far enough away from the commercial pressures and protected from those commercial pressures by the bosses, their editors, and their Executives. New Zealand journalists tend to be more immune or less affected by those pressures, I think. Also, the two big companies here NZA and NZB are both under corporate ownership. They are owned by pension funds through stock markets sales. They don't have a one powerful owner, there is no Rupert Murdoch, there is no one person saying, "I want you only to report this or here is the political view and you must follow my political view" or a Government owning it and saying that "you can't say that, you can only talk about that (NZC1).*

He emphasises this further by stating that

*I have never seen that in New Zealand and I would be rather shocked. The commercial nature of New Zealand media the Newspaper groups, I don't think it changes their coverage, or it's substantively different from the coverage of, for example, Radio New Zealand which is the only pure non-commercial broadcasting network and independent of all influences or TVNZ1& 2 which are commercially driven broadcast. I think they get broadly the same in their tone of coverage, their depth of coverage and the way that they cover things (NZC1).*

NZC 1 emphatically stresses that the joy the New Zealand journalists and editors derive from their job motivate them.

*The fun, it's fun and satisfying, and we feel like we are making a difference. But you are right; they will never get rich. I don't think it's enough of a problem to affect their coverage. Anyone who is the journalist in New Zealand are doing it because they enjoy it and it pays their bills. They are not doing it to get rich. I don't think that has ever been a problem (NZC 1).*

All the journalists and editors interviewed in New Zealand emphatically denied any such occurrence of inducement. The assertions show a high standard of morality and professionalism among them. Some of the reasons for this as stated are the facts that, their newspapers as conglomerates exert less pressure and often meets their election reporting needs by providing adequate incentives. Also as said earlier, New Zealanders generally have a low corruption rate due to high levels of prosecutions of fraud cases (Lambsdorff, 2007). Moreover, historically, New Zealand had adopted stringent economic policies, which had paid off by ensuring the higher gross national product (GNP) and standard of living (Kelsey, 2015; Vowles, 1995). Within such a society, the temptations of yielding to ills like inducement are rare.

#### **10.4 ADVERTS, ADVERTS CENSORING, REGULATED BUDGET, AND EDITING**

Political adverts are also another means of funding for New Zealand newspapers (Meech, 2008). The content analysis of New Zealand newspapers on the portrayal of 2014 September election, discussed in chapter six, shows a reduction in these advertisements. The journalists have nothing to do with political adverts which are managed by the marketing departments based in a different location. Alternatively, there are other means of communication between the political parties and the electorates. The interview data confirms this fact.

*To be honest, I don't have anything to do with the advertisement, but there are a lot of direct mails these days. Political parties use all types of analytical tools to target voters, leaflets; you get a lot through your letterbox. It might get more on websites, am a bit surprised that there is very little advertising in the newspapers, but I know that there was, you know we publish a little leaflet in the final week of the election. You know we have already had a full-page advertisement this year from the Maori party (NZA1).*

Moreover, the period analysed in New Zealand newspapers was the period when there were restrictions on the amount of political adverts spending. This fact has been mentioned extensively in chapter four of the thesis. Political parties, therefore, use more personalised than group method of communication to campaign. Although, the

respondents agree that political news and advertisement affect each other during an election.

*For instance, NZB website, I can imagine that during the election, the electoral commission may want to advertise on it to get to the voters. They might have the registered vote or do their voting from there and do an early vote. It's the election going to drive advertising, absolutely, and the electoral commission is going to be one of them. The other is going to be the political party, and I think this is one time they are going to be able to do a lot more of their advertising things online. Whereas previously they had a sort of restrictions on the amount they could use on broadcasting, they could get it up. That money which previously they would have to spend on Broadcasting, this year, I think for the first time they are going to be able to use online. They might put money in Advertising get through to the political parties online, so it's going to be a new thing. We have not seen that before really, we will see that in this election. Regarding what that means, I have no idea (NZB1).*

NZC also agree that his publication takes on political advertisements

*It is an advertising funded but freely available news website. We were paid for by advertising from banks most (NZC).*

But he has a contrary view and thinks that, adverts do not generate so much profit in New Zealand thus justifying the importance of subscriptions.

*Because advertisers will not pay for news anymore. No not anymore. They are still profitable, but they used to be very profitable, and now they are hardly profitable. As that revenue support, they seem still to be cutting off journalists. They have a bigger problem which is they are not selling many newspapers these days. Newspapers aren't profitable, and the number of newspaper sales is dropping (NZC1).*

However, expressing the concerns with political adverts, New Zealand trend according to NZB 1 is that:

*Yes absolutely, we have what is called the fixed period which is three months from the election. From all rules around political advertising, relates to that regulated period. That period was around the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, and there are rules around how much candidates can spend during an election period, how much political parties can spend, who can authorize the spending (NZB 1).*

The respondents remarked that there was indeed the paucity of political adverts during the period of the election. The content analysis details reveal **(n=10, 0.23 per cent)** of political advertisements and advertorials each (See Table 6.1) from the articles analysed. The first sampled date for the analysis of New Zealand newspapers falls within this fixed period (See Table 5.4) and NZA 1 affirms that:

*That would have been the regulated period. There were no restrictions before the three months, but there were also few adverts before this period. (NZA1).*

NZA 2 states another form of restriction is the fact that:

*There are limits to the amount of cash. They get some for free they don't have to pay for it. They have some limited budget; they can't strictly buy television time, to make it fair for some all other parties. They use a lot of this advertising (NZA2).*

NZB notes here that there is a general restriction on political adverts spending during the period of campaigns by political parties. The next chapter will discuss the implication for this.

*Of course, there are concerns about advertising in New Zealand elections; there is usually a cap on how much they can spend. And a lot of that cap has been focusing on broadcasting or printing (NZB1).*

NZC 1 toed the same line of argument about the fixed period of adverts from the government. Generally political advertisement in New Zealand newspapers during the period of the 2014 September election analysed are few. There is therefore not much impact on the portrayal of political news.

### **10.5 SPONSORSHIPS AS SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS.**

News dissemination in an election year is often affected by public relations stunts for political news management. Corporate organisations, governments, mostly use sponsorships to curry favour from media organisations. Sponsorship is an indirect way corporate organisations provide financial support for media organisations. The situation was discovered as one of the practices in New Zealand, although not by political parties.

NZA 2 described the type of sponsorship and its influence on political news gathering and reporting:

*There is help with transport from politicians in monitoring their campaigns. The leader of the national parties hires a small aircraft which could go all over the country ... at what was a discount rate. The government does it as part of the policies usually because they often take the Airforce plane, Boeing 747, we've only got two. When you sit with the Prime Minister in an air force aircraft...Especially travelling to Asia or Africa. And the fare is just 200 dollars (NZA2)?*

NZA 2 remarks further that there is a possible presence of the influence of such on news coverage.

*It can. I think it is possible, you try to avoid it but...I think the first thing to say is that being in the aircraft with the Prime Minister you are going to get a story whether he provides the transport or not. With the coverage, I see it makes you more careful about what you write, maybe not so much influence. I went on a long trip with one Prime Minister, and by the end of it, I wrote quite a story from a certain direction and sensible (NZA 2).*

NZC added sponsorships as sources of organisational funding

*We are in a new business that is sponsored by sponsorships that covered the public-private website and is sourced by subscriptions. It is in-depth aimed at people with*



*tonnes of money, and savings and mortgages. This is pay-walled news about policies and politics for people who are corporate, governmental life (NZC).*

However, NZC 1 perceptibly identified sponsorships as a kind of pressure that might intensify among New Zealand journalists as economic forces strengthen. This is perceptible especially with Magazines and other trade publications.

*That may change as intense pressure goes on newspapers to make money because previously, they have been very profitable, but that is coming to an end. We are starting to see the early signs in some parts of the country's commercial newspapers, the interests of sponsors, commercial advertisers are starting to colour or interest or change what we have. For example, businesses are having a lot of sponsored coverage. Consumer issues, Health education, technology, lifestyle, most magazines in New Zealand are not independent publications. They are vehicles for paid coverage by companies. Every one of those articles would have been paid for by the subject it carries. It's more like a PR journal. I don't trust magazines in New Zealand. Newspapers are better at lifestyle coverage, entertainment coverage, motoring, sports. I think it's okay now, but it could also be twisted. It will be wrong to say there is no pressure. For example, I think some New Zealand journalists are much too friendly and sympathetic to certain commercial interests. For example, Air New Zealand, state-owned controlled airline gets incredibly friendly coverage in the newspapers compared to the Jet star which does not, and not for good reasons, I think. It could also be partly because Air New Zealand is big advertising who give away a lot of free trips to journalists, gifts and free gadgets and free tickets to movies and concerts and that sort of things.*

He commended newspapers generally and stated that,

*The newspapers are still one of the unaffected, uninterrupted, uncoloured areas left, even in an election year. I don't think that political parties or the government or others skewed political coverage in the newspapers during the election. Political journalism. It is separated from that (NZC).*

New Zealand respondent agreed that sponsorship is present and gave examples. They further confirm that there is an indication of its subtle influence on the framing and portrayal of political news during an election. The aftermath effect could be pressure on journalists and editors.

## **10.6 PUBLIC RELATIONS CAREER PATH, PROSPECTS FOR NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL JOURNALISTS**

There is often a close relationship between public relations and the news media, as both are forms of communication aimed at changing perceptions (Shaw & White, 2004). However, while the former is more democratically inclined, the latter is organisationally inclined and individualised (Bivins & Bivins, 2003). But New Zealand journalists have managed to maintain a separation between journalism and public relations or political

news management, unlike in some other democracies (Lewis et al., 2008). The reasons given for the practice of public relations by some has to do with its lack of values and practicalities, by the journalists and editors. NZA 2 said:

*There have been journalists who conduct work and give the public relation advice support to a politician while working as a journalist. They can open a consultancy; they keep it secret. [That] is what I can think that could be the worse example I can think of, maybe the worst cases. It's because New Zealand is a very small democracy, everyone knows everyone... so you get found out (NZA2).*

However, NZC 1 describes a typical career path possible for a New Zealand journalist as

*The typical career path for journalists in New Zealand start young, work your way up, maybe 5 or 10 years in journalism, then maybe down out to public relations. There are some who knows that their career path is always going to be somewhere else (NZC1).*

Nonetheless, this prospect does not hamper the professionalism of most political journalists, as most are particular about their autonomy.

*Yes, that's an interesting thing. That where you might get some form of influence. If people know their long-term career prospect is going to depend on working for this company after they leave journalism, it could colour the coverage. Most political journalists end up working either for the government or their opposition or big corporations in New Zealand or big government partners or various C.E.O's. Often in PR, they are being paid, 2/3 times more than in journalism. That might colour their views after they leave journalism, **but I will be surprised**. Most New Zealand journalists pride themselves on being independent of corporate influence and fair, being soft on someone because you think you might get a job later, I have never seen that. We are not, I have never seen that (NZC 1).*

New Zealand journalists and editors, although aware of the subtle influence of public relations and its thin line with journalism, can distinguish themselves professionally.

### **10.7 THE TRAINING AVAILABLE TO POLITICAL JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS.**

Training is a means of establishing and maintaining the professionalism of any job. For journalism, certification is a significant step before becoming a journalist, and there are many issues around its operations (Deuze, 2006b). There is also the need for on-the-job training. The source of such training or its provider may influence on the process of gathering news not leaving out political news in an election year (Boyd-Barrett, 1981). New Zealand newspapers majorly depend on employing graduates from reputable media schools and in some instances, provide a form of on-the-job training.

NZA 1 asserts that

*I will say that most or almost all the younger journalists who end up in the gallery have done a course, Canterbury course at University of Canterbury or Auckland*

*University of Technology. There is no specialist training, none. What we are looking for is excellent all-around people in Auckland or looking around at the offices in the Gallery, trying to nab the young the hot shots who have breaking stories. There is no special training; we are very much on the job (NZA1).*

The first major level of training is the pre-job educational qualification. Frankling & Mensing (2010, p.2) state that 'journalism education aims at meeting distinct needs of a community to integrate theory and practice, improve collaboration between scholars and practitioners and develop the possibilities presented by new communication technologies. Journalism practice changes every day, and there is the need for would-be journalists to be fully armed with adequate educational or formal qualification. The classroom exposures have a great impact on journalists' performances on the field. It helps to manage unforeseen challenges such as balancing the objectivity of news, being conversant with their professional expectations and responsibilities. This knowledge in election circumstances, for example, can guide journalists in news judgements and manoeuvring critical situations.

NZA 2, in the same vein, shows that formal training specifically for political journalists in New Zealand was not formerly in place. Each newspaper organisation now requires a form of certification from their employees, although he mentions that additionally, an interest in politics is also necessary.

*Some journalists will do a couple of certificate training or press gallery. But there is now available formal training. If you are not interested in politics, then you are wasting your time. Lots of people who work ...for a while, but quite often they get hooked. They find it very hard to get away because it is so interesting (NZA2).*

NZB 1 additionally cited university certification as the primary form of training but also added on the job exposures

*A lot of them are now coming out of university with a journalism degree. NZB have this internship program, and they tend to do that internship program alongside the journalism course. In fact, I have had a few come and work in the press gallery with me and getting to know political reporting as part of their training. A lot of them have on the job training. Well, those who apply through the internship are put through the NZB program, am sure, with the view to work in the organisation at the end of the internship (NZB1).*

By on the job exposures, NZB is referring to the opportunities for the journalist to test out their classroom knowledge on the field of political beat coverage through internship programmes. Under such arrangements, newbies are buddied up with experienced journalists whom they under study about newsroom and political beats practices in this

instance. Of course, covering an election will be an excellent avenue to test out skills acquired in the classroom on political news coverage.

Furthermore, the importance of matching changes and demands in society with expectations from the media necessitates updating journalists and editors' knowledge regularly. This act makes the journalists able to continually perform 'the basic functions of information gathering, evaluation, production and distribution' (Mensing, 2010 p.15).

NZC 1 supported the affirmation that:

*The main traditional news companies tend to employ journalists who have gone through a post-graduate journalism training, diploma or post-graduate degree, Canterbury, Massey and Auckland University, have done those courses. That is where most journalists come from. Those three courses. The political journalism part of it, there is no form of training going on. They seem to learn on the job. Some of the company may have their in-house training courses (NZC1).*

One of the focus of the inclusion of this item in the interview questions is to establish the presence or not of on the job training, the source of funding for it and its subsequent effects on the portrayal of political news. Invariably from the responses of New Zealand journalists and editors, there is no external source of funding for training of political journalists which can influence the portrayal of news. The training is from the same formalised institutions and journalists learn on the job also.

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN: INFLUENCE OF FUNDING, LACK OF REGULATION AND TRAINING ON PORTRAYAL OF POLITICAL NEWS IN NIGERIA 2015 GENERAL ELECTION.**

### **11. 1 INTRODUCTION**

This section is structured after chapter 10, and it is also in response to Research question 3. It, therefore, seeks to investigate the sources of funding, sponsorships, training, incentives, and inducements available, on the portrayal of political news in a democracy. The question arises from concerns specifically about the work practices and conditions for political journalists and editors in Nigeria during the process of gathering political news for the 2015 general election. There is a need to examine the flow of finance to Nigerian commercialised newspapers specifically. This study establishes that one of the underlying assumptions is that the commercialisation of the papers influences the portrayal of political news. The themes examined confirms the primary influence of political advertising and inducement on the description of news in an election, deduced from the interview responses from journalists and editors.

**TABLE 11.1 THEMES DISCUSSED UNDER RQ 3 FOR NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS**

<b>SECTIONS</b>	<b>THEMES DISCUSSED</b>
Section 11.2	POLITICAL ADVERTS' FUNDING FOR COMMERCIALISED NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS
Section 11.3	NEWSPAPER PAGINATION INCREASE FROM POLITICAL ADVERTS
Section 11.4	INFLUENCING POLITICAL ADVERTS
Section 11.5	OTHER FUNDING FOR NEWSPAPERS
Section 11.6	COLUMNISTS' ROLE IN POLITICAL NEWS
Section 11.7	INCENTIVES OR INDUCEMENTS, SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS
Section 11. 7.1	INDUCEMENTS AS FUNDING.
Section 11.7.2	REPERCUSSION FROM INDUCEMENTS
Section 11.7.3	DETECTING AND CONTROLLING THE EFFECTS OF INDUCEMENTS
Section 11.7.4	INCENTIVES AND SALARY BY MEDIA ORGANISATIONS.
Section 11.8	NEWSPAPER REGULATION AND CENSORSHIP.
Section 11.8.1	FACTORS USED TO REGULATE ADVERTS
Section 11.8.1	NEWSPAPERS' ORGANISATION SELF CENSORING
Section 11.8.1	REGULATORY BODIES' FAILURES
Section 11.8.1	OTHER ETHICAL MONETARY PROSPECTS FOR JOURNALISTS
Section 11.8.1	THE EFFECTS OF EXPOSURES AND TRAINING ON POLITICAL JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS.
Section 11.8.1	TYPES OF TRAINING AND EXPOSURES

## **11.2 POLITICAL ADVERTS' FUNDING FOR COMMERCIALISED NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS.**

The first revelation from the content analysis shows the significant number of political advertisements and advertorials from the newspapers, forming a large part of the coverage more than New Zealand newspapers (See Table 7.1). There was also an increase in the numbers of advertisements during the few days before the election in Nigeria, which also results in an increase in the pagination for the newspapers.

However, journalists and editors' responses were divided about the claim of its influence on political reporting. But most agreed to the presence and increase in political advertisements and advertorial as an additional means of generating financing for the media organisation during the 2015 election.

NGA 1 one of the editors interviewed appears evasive in his response about how they source for advertisements in their newspaper organisation. He states that,

*It comes to us. You have something to sell, your product; you come to where you sell it. You reach out to the media house and make your request known; you pay for space. It's not the press to solicit for such adverts. It's for the political stakeholders. For individuals, stakeholders, political parties or even INEC<sup>54</sup> (NGA1).*

NGA 3 and NGB 1 also reacted almost in the same way:

*I am an editorial person; I am not an advert person. This can be through an agency or the political party. We have an advert agent that always brings advert. I remember that the last election was managed strictly by the advert companies. (NGA 3).*

*...what I know is that people bring adverts, they see the paper very well, that it carries adverts. When you look at the back page of every NGB edition, you see adverts hotlines there. The politician can call the department and discuss with them on his advert (NGB 1).*

These short responses are laden with meaning. It implies that there was no form of influence or lobbying for political adverts on the part of the journalists. It also suggests that the political parties or government chooses the newspaper without any kind of control. However, further discussion reveals differently, as some other journalists confirm the presence of soliciting for political advertisements by journalists and editors. NGC 1, therefore, shows his excitement at the prospects of political advertisements and exclaimed,

*That is the best time for media houses (Breaks into laughter). It is a reasonable period. **It is harvest time for journalists** (NGC 1).*

NGC 2 became diplomatic with his response, although he agrees to the fact of advertisements being a form of revenue generation for their newspapers.

*Every advert generates revenue for the organisation. There is nothing peculiar about political adverts and other (NGC2).*

NGC 3 confirms the sourcing for advertisements by journalists who do not work in the business units of the newspaper organisation

*... Anybody can bring or pay for the advert. It's not exclusive for a political reporter to source for the advert; it is not a unique political thing. Anybody who covers a beat can bring an advert and get the commission. We have agents; we equally have*

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<sup>54</sup> Independent national electoral commission, the electoral organisation in charge of conducting all elections in Nigeria.

*political correspondence in the state who have been covering political activities* (NGC3).

NGD1, however, introduced the dimension of political news or election being the reasons for an increase in advertisements.

*Yes, we get more adverts... (NGD1).*

In the same regards, sources of political advertisement and advertorials were examined (See Tables 7.9 & 7.20) and the type of source tilted more towards government representatives, politicians, and corporate organisations more than citizens and others. To therefore confirm the assumptions that these are the dominant users of political advertisements and probable source of influence, the researcher sought to know, what determines the selection of political advertisements and advertorials by journalists and editors. The next respondent asserts that everyone has access to political adverts including citizens, emphasising payment as the primary determining factor.

*Yes, people place adverts that are not members of a political party. For example, in reacting to a party zoning of the governorship seat and another community is excluded. The community may put up an advertorial to that effect. These are not a political party. They want people to know why they are being marginalised. They pay for such adverts. It's cash and carry <sup>55</sup>(NGA1).*

Although these journalists intended to demonstrate the democratic nature of political adverts, the tone and choice of language depict the portrayal of political news mostly as a commodity which is sold to the highest bidder. This fact was confirmed by funny expression in the following excerpts,

*If he can afford and brings any advert. You are in Nigeria, not New Zealand. The ordinary man is looking for what to eat; he's not interested in your graph 'abeg'<sup>56</sup>. (NGA 2).*

The implication of the statement above is that political advertisements is beyond the affordability levels of the average Nigerian citizens. (See Tables 11.2 & 11.3 for sample of advertisements rates in Nigeria and New Zealand).

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<sup>55</sup> This is a colloquial expression that implies payment before possession of goods

<sup>56</sup>A colloquial expression meaning 'spare me that'



**TABLE 11.2 A SAMPLE OF ADVERTISEMENTS AND ADVERTORIALS RATES IN NGA NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER.**

LENGTH OF NEWSPAPER	NAIRA	AMOUNT IN NZD
QUARTER PAGE	135,217.30	551.76
HALF PAGE	283,359.00	1156.26
FULL PAGE	484,500.00	1977.03
FRONT STRIP	180,000.00	734.50
CENTRE SPREAD (FULL PAGE)	1,890,000.00	7712.24
CENTRE SPREAD (HALF PAGE)	1,070,593.48	4368.61

**SOURCE: NGA NEWSPAPER (SEE APPENDIX FOR MORE).**

**TABLE 11.3 A SAMPLE OF ADVERTISEMENTS RATES IN NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPER**

LENGTH OF NEWSPAPER	AMOUNT IN NZD	AMOUNT IN NAIRA
Quarter page 4x4	1,296	317,604.29
8x4 Half Page	2,916	714,609.66
8x8 Full Page	5,184	1,270,417.17
12X6 Half PV	7,056	1,729,178.93
8x16 Double PS	10,368	2,540,834.35
6x24 Double PS Half	14,112	3,458,357.86
12X12 Full PS	14,112	3,458,357.86
12x24 Double PS	28,224	6,916,715.72

**SOURCE: STUFF METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS PRINT RATE CARD**

The cost of advertisements from tables 11.2 and 11.3 confirm that it will be difficult for individuals to afford such rates. Tables 7.9 and 7.20 had earlier shown that more corporate organisations and government representatives patronise the media for

advertorials which can also be assumed for advertisements. More so, the media sees such as an opportunity to make money since they are in business.

Further justification for the presence of advertisements and its essential purpose during an election, was made by NGC2 and NGC3

*The adverts that you complain about is what pays for the paper. How would you feel if you are a journalist and you work, at the end of the month, you are not paid? Will you still want to work for the next month? Certainly not, I think society has a role to play. Instead of clustering at the newsstands every morning, pushing themselves and analysing or paying 20 Naira to the vendor to read, it goes to the seller's pockets. They return the paper as unsold. And you say the company should not take adverts? To make up for those losses and pay their staff? If for instance, I know that I bring 10,000 copies and I send it to the streets, everything is sold off. But, if I reject the adverts and you don't purchase the paper, how do I publish tomorrow (NGC2)?*

Unlike Croteau & Hoynes (2002) assertion that newspapers advertisements are a means to two ends, that is making money for the media organisations and delivering the readers to the advertisers. The above editor emphasises a contrary view as the Nigerian newspapers see advertisements as an end in itself, that is to generate funding for the organisation first, which is what most political advertisements generally do.

NGC subtly states that newspaper subscriptions prices no longer effectively finance newspapers staff and organisations in Nigeria.

*Political adverts come during the election when a political party put up an advert for their candidates or schedule of their programme; political issues sell the newspaper. If you remove political news from the newspaper, you don't have a paper. Apart from a few publications that are business oriented, check all the papers, the front covers of those papers are dominated by politics, and that's a way to show that democracy has a firm root in this country (NGC3).*

Several issues were implied above. One is that political adverts' cost is so high and beyond the means of the citizens. Second, the newspapers have agents, adverts professionals who seek adverts from the sponsors who can afford them. Third, the advert source provides a considerable revenue to the commercialised newspapers in Nigeria. Conversely, there were no direct comments on the influence of political advertisements on the portrayal of news, but the next section will show further relationship or such trend. There is also none enforcement of press regulations and political parties' budget in their campaign for the election.

### 11.3 NEWSPAPER PAGINATION INCREASE FROM POLITICAL ADVERTS

One of the significant effects of the presence of the election, especially closer to the election date, which was on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015, is that there was an increase in political adverts from political parties, politicians, and the government. The advertisements increase resulted in a rise in newspaper pagination of the content analysis (See Table 7.19). The increase was not because of publishing of more news stories to inform the electorates or display of letters to the editors to show facilitation for more engagement, under democracy, but for advertisement and advertorials. The fact is that advertisements are the leading source of funding for Nigerian newspapers generally but more so, during the election. Albeit, there were no strict restrictions on advertisements during the election (Ekwujuru, 2015).

NGA1 confirmed this and sought to justify the trend:

*...it was increased to accommodate the adverts both political and non-political because if you are rigid, you find out that you are biased. You must be flexible. Secondly, you need money. You must survive with the business (NGA1).*

In the same vein, he opines that,

*Usually, in all the paper, adverts make more money. Because there was more advert, more people were talking; you need to give them space. Of course, after that period, pagination came down (NGA1).*

NGC 2 also supported the same argument stating that,

*... Every newspaper has the number of pages it prints. If a paper prints 50 pages every day, it is constant. Those periods the papers increase, there were special projects. ...am running for an election, I now say (sic) do an advertorial for me, like ten pages may be a full advert. ... This is paid for. Newspapers' increase happens from time to time, not only during political periods. You have no choice than to increase, so it is not peculiar to political adverts (NGC2).*

He argues that newspaper pagination increase does not only happen because of the political advertisement or election but at other times. But the concerns in the thesis is that the additional pages analysed were solely on political advertisements. It could, therefore, be claimed that Nigerian newspapers deliberately seeks to increase pagination to improve their revenue during an election. The actions, therefore, show a lack of consideration for the principles of their democratic role during an election. It also shows an imbalanced portrayal and a confirmation of some assertions that the Nigerian media practises “cash and carries” (Asogwa & Asemah, 2012; Asemah, 2011; Odunlami & Adaja 2015). The term refers to a situation where newspapers place a high premium on payment for media contents. There are other expectations of democracy like the radical

role which is near extinct in Nigerian newspapers but was dominant in past military regimes. The collaborative and facilitative roles are also quite minimal (See Table 7.23) (Christians et al., 2009; Curran, 2011; Ojo, 2007; Olukotun, 2002).

Instead the constant enunciation by most respondent is that,

*Because that is what brings in money. Adverts are the one that pays the bill. When you take out adverts, the money is not there. The copy price of 100 does not pay for the paper. We must increase the production because it's during the election that we want to get as much money. Enough money (NGD 1).*

Claims made are that a political party or politician cannot buy up all the pages of an edition of a newspaper for advertisements and advertorials, although the statement appears contradictory. Street (2011) affirms that it is particularly during the election period that media should strictly follow laid-down press laws and regulations to carry out duties associated with a quality public sphere (set out in the chapters three), but the newspapers mostly let down their guard.

*It is not possible, though they can afford it, it's not done. What we have guidelines for is to balance, make sure it's not to the detriment of other parties. **Except during election**, you hardly find such. Although there are no specific guidelines, it's an understanding that you must balance the adverts. Beyond political parties, there are other interests like businesses (NGA1).*

NGB 1 nonetheless argues their media house tries to balance up between what they portray as political news and adverts in their daily publications.

*If you follow NGB very well, politics today was created which is run almost every day to report on political activities and do a feature, and Saturday NGB and Sunday NGB also have at least two political analysis pages devoted to the coming election of 2015 and that ran from 2014 to 2015. Political analysis, political interviews, and news stories. They were ongoing dealing with issues of political issues; people may argue they are not enough, but all these pages have to do with money. Papers run adverts; we have a balance in trying to educate the people and in paying our staff also. But for NGB we did a whole lot to help the people as much as possible. If you go through the paper, you will see engagement with the INEC; we try to interview the resident electoral officers across the states also (NGB 1).*

NGB was vehement about the fact that their newspapers organisation has an array of other forms of political discourse, meant to engage the electorates. At the same time, they strive to source for enough revenue albeit through political advertisement to pay salaries. The dilemma with the above action is how such an independent and competitive media with various forms of political products can compete against advertisements' judgments which often go with the winner (Bogart, 2004; Gamson et al., 1992).

### 11.4 INFLUENCING POLITICAL ADVERTS

Furthermore, this study discovered that the process of selecting political advertisement involves some levels of soliciting from the journalists. Therefore, the assertion that political adverts do not influence or are not controlled by the newspaper was refuted by some of the respondents while others supported the claims.

NGA2 stated that advertising categorically,

*...depends on contact and privilege reporting. The heads of the newspaper encourage tendencies in their reporting of events. When parties want to advertise, they will seek the friendly media. Secondly, as a reporter who has been practising for long, you must have established some contacts; who have the preference for you. Sometimes when they have issues with a reporter, the politicians think that when they give you some adverts, if inducement does not work, it can help you mellow down your harsh criticism or you can contribute to do some endorsement work and not expose their mischiefs (NGA2).*

Political advertisements according to NGA2 are a form of enticement or inducements, that is to make or not to make the newspapers publish a specific article or in a certain way. The implication is that the portrayal or framing of the political contents of newspapers are influenced by the presence of political advertisements, a fact which NGC 1 also confirms.

*... I want to say that during the election the advert to some extent affects media content. Because when adverts come in, sometimes they drop some vital news if space could not accommodate. I have seen media houses dropping some editorial pages for adverts (NGC1).*

NGD 1 in the same regards mentions that

*It's done in some newspaper houses because they will tell you that is what pays the bills. It is at the discretion of the Chief sub-editor **to either kill a story** when he feels that the adverts are essential or to either step it down or to increase the pagination (NGD1).*

Beyond generating funding, advertisements have become a political weapon of swaying perception for or against the sponsor (Riaz, 2007). It is believed that Nigerian media usually have affiliates or interests. They align with business interests, and historical influence born out of ethnicity of newspaper owners and the parties they support while claiming to be national (Ojo, 2003). Some of the interviewees substantiated these facts.

*Because that's our catchment area<sup>57</sup>. Each newspaper has its catchment area; yes, it is a national newspaper (NGD 2).*

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<sup>57</sup> Areas where the newspapers circulate most though it is a national newspaper

NGC 1 substantiated the same assertion

*Yes and No because what most media organisation do is look at **where they have strength, they tend to increase paper circulation in such areas to take advantage.** What it means is that people in such district, they appreciate what we are doing, **and you try to encourage them.** That is the business aspect of it. That is why you see some newspaper **trying to have a little bias for a region against another area** (NGC 1).*

Some critical terms such as strength, increase circulation, encourage, little bias, were used in the above excerpts to show a deliberate construction of specific media frames to reflect the election.

NGC supported the claims of circulation strength,

*What the advertiser look after is the mileage of your newspaper (circulation). Whatever adverts we get here whether politics or whether a business is primarily due to the distance of our paper. It is not due to political affiliation (NGC3).*

NGC 3 added the dimension of newspaper ownership influence or management proximity,

*Some adverts come from such individuals who include actions of the political parties. Naturally, because they are close to the executives who take the decision, it is easy to pass on adverts to the central office here through the head correspondence in the states. If you get any adverts at all, it is due to the proximity, not for any other reason (NGC 3).*

Nevertheless, an exception was stated by NGA2

*...no member so far, we publish for all political parties, so far you pay (NGA2).*

He asserts that the publication of political advertisements is not slanted and biased but fair and balanced. The main factor they look out for is money, which shows that public opinion or democratic considerations are not the primary determinants.

### **11.5 OTHER FUNDING FOR NEWSPAPERS**

Although political advertisements are the dominant sources of funding for most Nigerian commercialised newspapers, there were other sources mentioned by the respondents such as

*...readers that are literates' patronage from cover prices, and investments. What we do is to diversify into online publications. Although, there is no paywall the traffic does the advert. Because of the status of the newspaper, the traffic is much, and that draws adverts (NGA2).*

Subscription revenue from cover prices also pay some of the bills of Nigerian newspapers, and the online traffic generates some additional advertising revenues.

Nonetheless, he affirms that,

*If it is the cover price, we would have been at home by now.*

The implication is that subscriptions revenue is not sufficient to fund a Nigerian newspaper. This is why subscriptions are heavily subsidised with advertisements for revenue.

### **11.6 COLUMNISTS' ROLE IN POLITICAL NEWS**

The issue of money is sensitive, and the researcher was, therefore, careful to weave in questions. But during the content analysis, it was noted that there was a high use of specific sets of columnists from the newspapers analysed. These were the same personalities writing on the various stages of the election. They mostly wrote the supplements section of the political news even though they do not work for the organisation (See Table 7.19). Since supplements serve both editorial and commercial functions, the researcher was therefore interested in their relationship with the organisation or how they are selected (Brett & Holmes, 2008). The aim was to establish the motive for their writing, whether monetary or otherwise. The reactions of the journalists and editors were that their selection is fair and based on their abilities to write appropriately.

The first respondent said that,

*Some are staff; some are not. Some people after a while can become staff. They become very resourceful, attend editorial meetings. You are not paid for the article but as staff. Others come from outside. They are like honorary, editorial board members who write their opinion. They write out of their interest. It's free for everybody (NGA1).*

NGB 1 solely believe it is because of their ability to write,

*Their motivation is that they want to write, and they feel they are knowledgeable, and seems okay .... I don't know their motivation, but I can have imagined that they have some information that they feel people should be aware. Some of them are paid. We have some who are staff and write columns. I think they get a stipend (NGB1).*

On how long they run a column and if they are paid,

*Some columns are seasonal may be for a year or there may be permanent columns which have been run for years. Yes, they pay them (NGC 1).*

NGC 2 also points out that:

*Most columnists we have are in-house, most of them are staff. The columnist has an independence of thought; it is at their discretion what they write on. It is their opinion they are expressing. It is not for the newspaper to tell them they are going*

*to write on. I also not do not know; what the newspaper pays for the columns they write (NGC2).*

NGD2 also states

*Not all columnist are employees of the newspapers ... yes, they pay them (NGD2).*

It is ascertained from this discussion about the influence of the columnist on the content they write. But it can be inferred that the columnists are used as a means of marketing the political contents of the newspapers (Eisenstein, 1983).

### **11.7 INCENTIVES OR INDUCEMENTS, SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR POLITICAL JOURNALISTS.**

Corruption is an endemic issue in the Nigeria political scene (Akanbi, 2004; Dike, 2005). Political journalists are not exempted as studies have established unethical practices such the exposure to monetary inducements (Ekeanyanwu, 2012). The discussion on the subject of inducements and incentive was quite vigorous with all the journalists and editors interviewed. Different opinions were expressed, but most agreed to the fact that there is a distinction between inducements and incentives, which also both exist. Few stated that there are no inducements but forms of monetary help from outside their organisations to make reporting elections easier for them. They claim that although they receive such, it does not colour their framing of political news.

#### **11. 7.1 INDUCEMENTS AS FUNDING.**

A clarification was therefore sought to differentiate the type of monetary 'help' journalists receive while covering the election. NGA2 opines that,

*There is none o.<sup>58</sup> Political writers are looked at with suspicion (NGA2).*

However, allusion is made to the fact that,

*They (politicians) can **induce you**, which is no incentive. A lot, you want me to lie?<sup>59</sup> When they give you something to do in the wrong way that is not an incentive but an inducement. But there are no incentives for you to advance yourself, gain traction and expand your capacity and learn something more. There are inducements, especially in politics. Inducements either to run the other candidate down or to do mischief reporting (NGA2).*

NGA 2 was emphatic about the presence of inducements and claims that the aim of such is to influence the portrayal of the political news. He agrees to the fact that it is not an incentive since it is not for the development of the journalists but for them to alter their form of reporting.

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<sup>58</sup> The letter 'o' pronounced as ooh! is an explicit expression validating a statement

<sup>59</sup> A rhetorical expression meaning do you want me to lie?



NGB also agreed to the existence of inducement but stated he does not engage in such an act.

*Yes, there were inducements, some politicians gave money to the journalist, but I didn't collect (NGB 1).*

NGC 3 arguments were based on emphasising the fact that the newspapers are commercialised by repeating the phrase,

*Paid for? Paid for? We are here to make money. This is not a charity organisation (NGC3).*

NGC 1 in the same light tactically agreed to the fact of the existence of inducements and blamed the cause of the temptation on the economy. He states that,

*Because of the downturn in our nation's economy; politicians can buy reporters over. If you look at the media industry in Nigeria, journalists are not taken diligent care of. The tendency to compromise their standard is there because the politicians may like to buy you over, buy your conscience over which may affect what you write, it may influence the balance of your story (NGC1).*

NGD 1's reaction to the issue of political journalists' inducement was in conceding to the existence of such practice with an emphatic,

*Of course, yes, (emphasis) (NGD1).*

While NGD 2 gave an excuse for the practice as,

*Yes, there are many financial challenges where you should go to a place, and you don't have money to go there. Eventually, you lose out (NGD2).*

Although he further claims that

*...Not all of them, there are some who will want to **appreciate**, they may call it transport fare. They don't give you to kill a story (NGD 2).*

Of all the description of the forms of inducement, NGD3 was found to be most blatant in his assertions. He states that

***I wish the election could be holding all the time because they are good times. If not for those things that usually come from the side-lines, nothing to take care of ourselves especially when you have the family. I discovered that these additional responsibilities also are pulling our resources because the resources am getting from the system does not tally. And we are in this job to make money. The essence of it is that, yes, we do our best, but we need to earn money and pay our bills. So, during election money comes and those are the good times (NGD3).***

He also declares that,

***The sources are goodwill which comes from the politician, some call it bribe but it does not bribe, and it is not a bribe (Emphasis). Goodies come from politicians,***

**organisations.** *There are organisations, organisation UN-affiliated body, and all those foreign missions when they call you to an event or a political roundtable, they plan for you, and it is official. The business of journalism is the business of story writing which is the presentation of issues and facts (NGD3).*

The responses on the issue of inducements range across all the four media houses in which seven of the ten respondents interviewed reacted. It further shows the trend of the assertion or interpretation of the ethics of journalism among Nigerian political journalists and editors (Pratt & McLaughlin, 1990). The fact that a newspaper is commercialised does not imply that the journalists too are for sale and the effectiveness of their job should be based on prices from the highest bidder (Omenugha & Oji, 2008). But that appears to be the thinking of most Nigerian political newsmen.

More so, given the fragile and the emerging form of Nigerian democracy, the journalists' roles, and their importance at such a time have been severally justified in this study and by other scholars (Ette, 2000; Jibo, 2003). Nigerian journalists have become selfish seeing their job as no longer a form of social responsibility or acting in their watchdog role for the politicians, neither are they pluralistic enough for the sake of democracy (Olukoyun, 2004). But instead see their jobs, as a meal ticket for their selfish survival amidst the teeming world of Nigerian corrupt capitalist economy, earning the appellation 'cash and carry' journalists (Skjerdal, 2010a). There is no balance of power neither as these journalists by their actions have established absolutism in their deciding what is portrayed in the election and economic power is used to override cultural power and expectations (Hardy, 2014a; Okpo, 2013). There is no evidence of representation of the electorates who are viewed as not having means of 'buying political news' (Bunnin & Yu, 2004). Therefore, Nigerian newspapers in their portrayal of the political news on the 2015 election cannot be said to be a true political or democratic sphere but rather an elite's sphere, a private sphere and even a bourgeoisie sphere (Duelund, 2010; Herman & McChesney, 1997).

#### **11.7.2 REPERCUSSION FROM INDUCEMENTS**

Exposures to inducement, however, are not without some disadvantages especially to the journalists who get the money and refuse to do the bidding of those inducing them.

*For those who would access it. If you are not careful you are induced, you are gone for<sup>60</sup>. You have been tethered. You know, the man who influence you, when*

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<sup>60</sup> Meaning entangled

*tomorrow comes, and you write something negative about him, he comes for your jugular (NGA2).*

NGA 2 further listed the various types of harm that could happen to such a journalist.

*It is possible to do so, but it is also feasible to have a bullet in your head. A hammer was used to flatten a journalist's knees. A lot of things happen, like, thuggery. It could be because you are doing your work or refuse to do the dirty work of some people, they decide to show you that they could put some fear in you. When it happens, the man may not live to tell the story. We have instances of armed men going to journalist's house, and up till this moment, we have not resolved the crime, who killed the man and why? (NGA2).*

There are instances of threats to life as discussed in chapter nine, but some are as a result of journalists compromising their ethical standards and double-dealing. Other respondents also mention the effects of such an act of portrayal of political news.

*One should be very careful in accepting such incentives because if you take an incentive from the political parties, it may affect what you publish about them in the paper and the content. You will be biased; you should be very careful because most of the organisation will not comply. If some of your colleagues can find out that a political party gave you money, you may be sacked because ethically you are not supposed to collect any money from any political party (NGC1).*

NGC 2 justification is based on the fact that the journalists are duty-bound to perform their duties appropriately.

*Most issues that happen during elections are matters that you are bound to report, inducement or no inducement. It is not possible for example when there is a governorship debate in an election, and you say; you are going to present only one side because of incentives, you are duty bound, incentive or not (NGC2).*

This narration is a vivid description of the ills of the Nigerian society and the risks political journalists face while conducting their jobs (Ibelema, 2003). Although the exchange of money or otherwise called inducement may often be responsible for such attacks and threats to lives, sometimes it is not.

### **11.7.3 DETECTING AND CONTROLLING THE EFFECTS OF INDUCEMENTS**

There are often attempts by editors and other journalists to curtail the effects of this act. This could sometimes be unsuccessful or successful, because of its hidden nature and the corruption that may take place at senior editorial levels. One journalist remarked that it is not possible to prevent inducement of reporters.

*Guide against inducement? What if they are inducing the man at the top? Do you know who is under temptation? If they want to kill your report, they destroy the story; there is no blood anywhere (NGA2).*

NGB had a different perspective about the complication of the effectiveness of the practice stating that,

*From experience, take for instance the money given to photojournalists may not affect what the photojournalists do. Sometimes, these politicians give money to some journalists they know; such journalists distribute the money to other journalists who have covered events or election in that area where the politician is. They may not even have any affiliation with the politician; they may collect the money with the assumption that the journalists are expected not to report anything embarrassing about such politician or publish anything wrong about him. From what I saw in the last election, it did not pan out that way. In some other paper, yes it may pan out that way because you may notice that some of the things you reported were not published by this other organisation (NGB1).*

He believes that even inducement does not influence portrayal news. NGB's perspective is that the journalists sometimes do not do the politician's bidding after they are induced. But NGC 1, a political editor, sees a possibility of inducement affecting reporting of news. He, therefore, mentions ways he detects such news. He says,

*That's why I am an editor; you don't expect that any story I get, I will push out. I must be able to look at it. If it has all the ingredients of a standard political story, whether it is balanced (NGC1).*

NGD 1 also states that he is not involved in yielding to any form of inducement stating that he is ethically determined to perform his journalistic duties in spite of challenges and temptations.

*...it depends on the person, but I can't speak for everybody or others. I can't speak for my reporters but myself alone. As am here what I have asked God is for the opportunity not to lie. I have not had a chance of deliberately lying for money or without money to write something (NGD1).*

NGD 3 confirms the fact that there are journalists who based on their conscience would do all they can to prevent the modification of information.

*Maybe those problems may not be appealing to some people concerned. They may not want these matters published or anything that undermines their interests. They find a way of getting that person not to release it. But if releasing that thing, will be injurious or not help the public. There are people of conscience who will also find a way of getting that information out (NGD3).*

It may be difficult to determine the influence of inducement on contents and practice, but some journalists still maintain the ethics of the profession (Pihl-Thingvad, 2015).

#### **11.7.4 INCENTIVES AND SALARY BY MEDIA ORGANISATIONS.**

The monthly salary is the main provisions for journalists, although this sometimes is not regular as there are instances of journalists being owed months of salaries (Olukoyun,

2004). NGA 2 states that this primary form of incentive is denied the journalists. Even the condition of service and lack of job security is rampant.

*There is no package, but are you talking about the ideal or practical? The practical is that... whatever they give, you will be happy that at least they have paid your salary. If you have a complaint, go home, and complain to your wife, or resign. When the government says, they are practising anti-corruption why will you owe workers? It will make, and it is. There are newspapers that are paying workers poorly, it is terrible. There are a lot of journalists that are casual and not regular staff because the organisation wants to make profits. He that comes to equity must come with clean hands. What are you paying? Is it staying wage or living pay (NGA2)?*

NGA agrees that sourcing for political news cost money and that their newspaper organisation provides some essentials during such coverage. He mentions that,

*Covering political news cost money like every other news. Sometimes it is expensive; you must sign an IOU<sup>61</sup>, you pay for the flight and hotel accommodation, and maybe you are going to cover an election in Calabar <sup>62</sup>((NGA 3).*

NGB 1, NGC 1 and NGD 2 reactions were also a commendation about their newspaper house provisions to encourage journalists doing such a tedious job. One mentions provisions of the basic like salary, transport, and meal allowance. Another mentions extra pay for working extra hours and the third respondent states that there is provision for you to claim back what you might have spent out of your pocket.

*NGB as always does its best to pay its workers well. There was transport and meal monthly allowance which should serve you for whatever period. On Election Day, some compensation was given before the election (NGB1).*

*Sometimes the organisation will show appreciation for working extra hours. The organisation is meant to take care of you. You can't have it 100%; they try their best (Laughter) (NGC1).*

*Except you are going to cover elections or an interview outside the state, they (the media organisation) will ask you to write IOU. To raise claims from the organisation. Luckily, they approve a certain amount of money. Especially during elections, if you are going to cover elections, they will authorise all the funds for example, for accommodation, feeding, internet, and others (NGD2).*

NGA 3 submission on journalists' salary structure appears sympathetic to the negligent acts of their newspaper's organisation citing the economy as the general cause for such laxity. He says,

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<sup>61</sup> Pronounced as 'I Owe You'. This is a document permitting you to claim back your duty expense from your organisation

<sup>62</sup> a city in the Southern part of the country which is far from where the media office is located

*There is scarcity everywhere; the economy is not in the best shape, companies, organisations are sacking people, they are downsizing, the global crash of crude oil. Whatever thing comes from an individual or where ever you find yourself, you cut your coat per your cloth. Looking at Nigeria, you have no option (NGA3).*

NGC 1 complained,

*But when I think about the welfare aspect of the work, it is not promising. What you give to the system is not commensurable to what the system provides you. The welfare of the system itself is nothing. This is a challenge which limits all the moral .... It doesn't get us motivated to do the job (NGD3).*

There were different reactions, but the significant point is that the newspapers can do more in cushioning the adverse condition political journalists and editors have to work under during the coverage of an election. The challenges continue with issues such as lack of means of sustenance or support provided to journalists who might have experienced injustice. This is expressed as NGA 3 added that

*There is no insurance for journalists (NGA3)*

Journalists are often left to fend for themselves and have no recourse to any legal or established means of addressing their misfortunes.

### **11.8 NEWSPAPER REGULATION AND CENSORSHIP.**

One of the side effects of media commercialisation creates a predominance of views of the sponsors. This, therefore, requires stakeholders in the media to step up their game in social responsibility and media accountability. These include the journalists, media owners, government, citizens, supervisory boards, and commissions (Bardoel & d'Haenens, 2004). This is necessary to preserve the democratic roles of the newspapers.

This section intends to review how regulations and censorship which are offshoots of responsibility and accountability are carried out in Nigerian newspapers, to ameliorate the impact of corrupt funding practices.

#### **11.8.1 FACTORS USED TO REGULATE ADVERTS**

Among journalists, ethical advertising boundaries are seen as providing some protection against publishing materials that would undermine quality public debate. But during the 2015 Nigerian election, some of these boundaries were crossed. Although most journalists appear knowledgeable about such regulations, which they reeled out in their responses, they, however, stated that these were not adhered to during their coverage of the election. NGA 1, NGA 2, NGC 1, NGD 1 NGD 2 and NGD 3 all displayed their knowledge about the regulating ethics for political advertisements.

*... The advertising ethics. If it's not slanderous or libellous, which should be avoided. It's not because you have the money, then you publish rubbish. ... Divisive, not inciting, and not treacherous or cause chaos (NGA1).*

*... Not malign others, no false statement or libel. These are publications that offend natural sense, e.g., defamation. The advert must not offend the house style, for example, NGA does not print pictures of corpses or dead bodies, nudity (NGA2).*

*One of the core responsibility of journalists is objectivity and balance if it does not contain any form of libel, defamation on anybody in any adverts advertorials (NGC1).*

*For libel, they don't assess base on orientation, likeness or dislike, interest. They assess and fact or defamation (NGD1).*

*We should not libel anybody (NGD2)*

*Yes, there are rules that guide the content from being injurious to the public (NGD3).*

These qualities used for censoring do not relate to political advertisements or news but news publishing in general.

#### **11.8. 2 NEWSPAPERS' ORGANISATION SELF CENSORING**

Aside from the awareness on the part of the journalists, Nigerian newspapers also have some conventional structures on ground through which adequate censoring of publishable materials is done. NGA 2 and others agree to the existence of a form of self-censoring of political adverts by their organisation. They expressed that there is a functioning legal department where a lawyer works who is versatile in all regulations regarding newspapers publishing.

*The legal department is the final censoring of whatever the paper is publishing. (NGA 2).*

*We regulate through our legal department. They will examine it and make sure that it is free of libel (NGC 3).*

*We have the legal department. Because, of this; we even nicknamed our lawyer not-publishable. There are times we get adverts that could be libellous; we pass it to the lawyers who read it and often declares such as non-publishable. The company does not compromise on that because libel is one of the things that bring down a media organisation (NGD 3).*

However, NGC 3 arguments are that controversial political advertisements and advertorials serve a democratic function. He queries that

*In what way, has it affected our ethics? You are in a contest with a candidate, and you want to do everything to woo electorates to your side, and you believe that maybe you have one issue or the other to your team that you can throw up. You create an advertorial. It's something that you are paying. If it is a fact that my*

*opponent does not have a certificate<sup>63</sup>, the law allows me to put it back either by advertorial or public campaign or whatever. It even suits our ethics of the profession if it does not come in the form of analysis (NGC 3).*

Viewing advertorial and advertisement as an adversarial tool in an election does not appear democratic. It is more appropriate to have some forms of regulations in place which guide all publications.

### **11.8. 3 REGULATORY BODIES FAILURES**

However, there is the official regulatory body known as the Press Council of Nigeria (PCN) and Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON), whose roles are said to be limited and ineffective.

*It's the press council you should check from. ...with the media council the man to enforce is the man who is wronged; if you are libelled, you can raise a complaint or sue. But for the press council to command the media house not to carry an advert, they are talking to themselves. Toothless bulldog (NGA 2).*

NGA 3 also on the issue of censorship and political adverts gave a lengthy exposition of the problem.

*The press council is good as dead. Such regulatory agencies have not been doing things that they should do. Some of the organisation is under the control of government which is in power. How can they work efficiently? Even INEC sometimes is in a tight corner to sanction some political parties that are flouting the provisions of the electoral laws regarding political adverts. From the aspects of the media laws, there are some adverts that are libellous, and if I own a newspaper, I can put anything and say that I am ready to go to court, and you know the judicial process in Nigeria, and you even know if the government discover they are the ones that are wrong, they can also influence the judiciary to give a contrary judgment. It was more of promoting war, violence, acrimony, division (NGA 3).*

There was excitement in NGA 3 voice as he relates the relationship between all the various regulatory bodies that exist in Nigeria. From the PCN to APCON, to INEC, (See page xiv –xv for lists of abbreviations) and the law courts, all seems to circumvent their duties in regulating political advertisements, due to compromise or selfish interests. Working together effectively can help Nigerian newspapers achieve their common goals in an election as well as make profits.

NGC 1 and NGD 3 further lament on the issue of the censoring body

*There are, but they<sup>64</sup>are not useful (Repetitively) (NGC1).*

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<sup>63</sup> One of the issues generated by the ruling party was that the Presidential candidate of the opposition party does not have the minimum school certificate required.

<sup>64</sup> The censoring body



*Unfortunately, those bodies responsible for censoring don't meet up with the terms of their existence which goes beyond having rules to guide the kind of the content of the adverts. In terms of being punitive to erring media houses, they have not been used in that (NGD 3).*

NGB opines that to regulate political advertisements effectively

*There should be fines for such acts. Sometimes these things may not come out until you ask the Press Council or APCON which oversees advertising or some of these organisations. This is Nigeria, some of these allegedly offensive adverts have been fined for doing so (NGB1).*

There is the need for every hand to be on deck in the issues of regulating political advertisements and advertorials. The journalists, editors, newspaper organisation, controlling bodies and the law courts all have roles to play. Negligence on the part of any of these will affect the effectiveness of the other.

### **11.9 OTHER ETHICAL MONETARY PROSPECTS FOR JOURNALISTS**

Moonlighting is a concept that affects most professions and journalism is not exempted (Limor & Himelboim, 2006; Mabweazara, 2018). Although, some see it as an ethical issue in journalism, one of the respondents from the Nigerian interviews is of a different opinion. He opines that it is a better option, which is open to Nigerian journalists by using their skills, than the inducement. NGA 2 suggested that since journalism as a profession cannot make them rich, other legal means can form an extra source of money for political journalists.

*It does not, but if you want extra money, you now write the book. Sometimes lecturers ask you to come help talk to the students. When you do such a presentation, you are paid afterwards which is a form of reward and not an inducement. This because of sharing your experience or sharing knowledge on how to write the news or news analysis, or interpret or investigate, which are critical tools of journalism to upcoming journalists. If you want to become a wealthy man you go out of practising journalism (NGA2).*

Aside from monetary gain, other side-line benefits could motivate a political journalist despite his challenges. These are enumerated in the form of some roles and entitlements.

*My takeaway is that it helps me understand statecraft. It helps you to know what goes on in the government, what happens in the budgeting system. (NGA2).*

Another journalist believes that the job is a stepping stone to other opportunities.

*My motivation and am sure for a lot of us come from the fact that I know what I am doing, and I have my focus on a place that I am going to. I see this place as the springboard (NGD3).*

Political journalists in Nigeria are not well supported as expected when compared with their colleagues in New Zealand for example. But they are motivated by the prospects of their skills and also other practicable and ethically acceptable areas they can apply them.

#### **11.10 THE EFFECTS OF EXPOSURES AND TRAINING ON POLITICAL JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS.**

Professionalism in journalism generally hinges on the type of knowledge and exposures which can be called training. More so, it argues that trainees are affected by their trainers and adopts their attitudes (Jimada, 1992). The focus here is not only on certification, which is a fundamental requirement in selecting the journalists and editors interviewed for the thesis. But an assumption of this study is to examine the types of on the job training opportunities for the political reporter. One of the research requirements for the selected journalists for this interview was the years of experience in covering political news and elections. From Table 5.1, it is evident that all these journalists are experienced. But the importance and specific sources of funding for such on the job training are of concern to the researcher.

##### **11.10.1 TYPES OF TRAINING AND EXPOSURES**

The journalists interviewed, responded to the issue of training in different ways. Some, for example, NGA 1 and NGB1 state that their organisations organises political news training and sponsor such.

NGA 1, asserted that

*The in-house, occasionally, they organise training, and this is professionally based regarding what happens to the beat politically. It could be ICT based or exposure-based. To make sure journalists know what's going on behind the political scenes. (NGA1)*

NGB 1 professes the availability of training during the election period by his organisation and its benefits.

*There was small training held for us to know what to say, how to be security conscious, how to go about reporting. I get constant training in the office through the editor of the title (NGB1).*

NGB1 refers here to training by their newspaper organisation during an election period. The training involves preparing the journalists for their on-beat reporting and challenges, especially issues around security. Nigeria's political environment is usually very porous

during elections and journalists are often the targets of disgruntled voters when their expected candidates do not win an election.

However, there were other overlapping responses as some of the respondents agree to the fact that aside from being trained by their organisation, some voluntary outside organisation also do. NGA 1 alongside NGB 1, then NGA 3, NGA 2, NGC 1 and NGC 2 all assert that there are other organisations outside their media entities that sponsors and organises such training for them. Some training was even undertaken outside the country.

*At times, we will only get some people from outside, NGO workshops, symposiums, talk shows, specifically to teach how to handle election results or edit election materials (NGA1).*

NGA 3, enthused that,

*There is the institute that organises training for journalists. You can now subscribe to; we have some overseas links where you can now apply for information, some of the training is in the form of a refresher course which is organised by the organisation. It is even to your advantage as sometimes they are doing you a favour (NGA 3).*

NGB 1 said that aside from his organisation's training, he was also trained by an outside organisation.

*Secondly, I had the opportunity of going to the USA for an exchange called press coverage of the national election in September. That helped to see how democracy is practised, how journalists respond to issues over there (NGB 1).*

NGC1, the political editor of the third newspaper, also affirmed that,

*Yes, a lot I was at the City University in New York last year, for two weeks. I have had so many training that my body recommended. Even before the last training, I had almost a week training at Pan Atlantic University organised by the US embassy, partnered with Nigerian media council, and some organisations. We attend training virtually all the time (NGC1).*

NGC 2 also vouched for the availability of training sponsored outside his organisation.

*I cannot remember the names of the various groups, but I know that in the last year I have attended about 3-4 training sponsored by the different organisation. One was by the international press centre which was held in Akure<sup>65</sup>. Most are primarily by an NGO. Our organisation does not organise especially for us because there are about 20 beats (NGC 2).*

*NGD2 also attests that*

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<sup>65</sup> A city in western Nigeria

*I've gone to two or three. It was organised by the British Council, the National journalist training institute at Ogba<sup>66</sup> (NGD 2).*

NGA2, and NGD 3, on the other hand, negated the claims of the first about their organisation training and stated that,

*None, except UNICEF and some of these NGOs. There was a time I was negotiating such training with the Republican and the democratic institutions; it didn't sail through because I was in an anti-government, anti-establishment group. Even organisations because of costs. Such should be happening in a stable democracy. Journalists should be taken off their beats to school them, on things to look out for. Things to capture in reports, fact-checking, which is not available in Nigeria. I always monitor things happening in the US. There is no specialised training aside from leaving your school, doing your interviews, and joining a media organisation*

NGD 3 agrees that,

*Yes, exercise organised by the non-governmental organisation, but the system itself does not, which constitute a challenge. Those crucial agencies hold some of the training I attended. That represents a problem because if you don't prioritise capacity building, you will not get a good result. It tells on the content; it rubs off on the material (NGD3).*

However, NGC 3 is the only one that denies ever been trained.

*Not when I joined the organisation (NGC3).*

While the political editor, NGD1, related his training to his work experience.

*I have been exposed to the national assembly; I was exposed to many pieces of training on political reporting. In the National assembly, there are opportunities for training and exposures, about seven years. I've also received training here; I was trained by my organisation although not all that repeatedly. We have had training and on the job training even from NDI (National Democratic Institute). This is because of my linkages and relationships with them. (NGD 1).*

The responses show that there is always a form of training for Nigerian political journalists. But how that affects their quality of performance in political news reporting and positively is yet to be seen from the analysed contents and other discussions in the thesis. Training generally may be concluded not to have much influence on the process of political news gathering, but the conditions of service appear to have played a more significant role. But funding for such training is either provided by the newspaper organisation or sourced through a form of partnership between the employers and trainees.

When asked about the sponsorship source for the training, NGA 3 mentions that,

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<sup>66</sup> A location in Lagos state

...and they<sup>67</sup> will support you by being paid (NGA3).

Payment at times for such training are in a partnership form;

*They contributed, and I also did. Well, you don't have to wait for your organisation to do everything for you because as an individual it is also your assets. If you are somebody, who wants to improve your career. My organisation contributed a lot, and I also added. (NGC1).*

Sources of funding for the on the job training are three-fold as the newspaper organisation provides financing sometimes, the Non-governmental organisation who plans such training or the trainee could also sponsor himself.

Chapter eleven of the thesis evaluates the role played by political advertisements, advertorials on political reporting and it discovers that both affect the framing of political discourse during the 2015 Nigerian general election. In the same vein, journalists because of the unsatisfying working environments such as irregular salaries and lack of other incentives are often tempted and engage in receiving inducements from varying political interests. Regulating bodies in Nigerian have failed in discharging their roles and newspapers organisation depend on self-censorship to control their publications. Nigerian journalists are advised to embrace another ethical source of income, which will still permit them to discharge their democratic functions appropriately. Finally, training exists on the job for Nigerian journalists and editors, but there is no evidence of its influence on political news portrayal.

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<sup>67</sup> The newspaper organisation

## **CHAPTER TWELVE: COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA NEWSPAPER ELECTION PORTRAYAL, EDITORS' AND JOURNALISTS' PERCEPTION.**

### **12.1 INTRODUCTION**

Chapter twelve answers research question four by comparing the quantitative content analysis data from New Zealand and Nigeria and the qualitative data from research question two and three. This section is to illustrate the similarities and the differences between the ways each newspaper reports their elections. Chapter one discusses the comparative media study that supports the need for an evaluation of each country from the perspectives of the portrayal of the other (Chandler & Munday, 2011; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). It further borrows a leave from the fact that perception of reality, about the types of democracy practised or the roles of the newspapers in each country's democracy form the framing of the contents of their papers.

### **12.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES**

Comparative studies are not just conducted for their own sake but as a result of justifiable benefits added to media scholarship. Comparative research is therefore valuable in a social investigation since they sensitise us to the variation and similarity which can contribute powerfully to concept formation (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Hardy, 2012). For this study, the concept under examination is the extent of the influence of a commercialised newspaper on the political news content in an election period. The comparison makes it possible to notice things we did not see before and therefore had not conceptualised.

Esser and Hanitzsch (2012) further listed various concerns such as Americanisation, Europeanisation, globalisation, liberalisation, and commercialisation as compelling reasons for the conduct of comparative communication research. Increasingly, the salience of globalisation is encouraging many communication researchers to address the transnational dimensions of cultural institutions, products, audiences, and policies (Tomlinson, 1999). Each global media product, from Big Brother to the Teletubbies, from chat rooms to the changing newsroom, invites a new cross-national project (Livingstone 2003).

The question of whether it is possible to pin down a systematic connection between political and mass media structures is a significant motivation into comparative research by Hallin and Mancini (2004). It is a fact that no two media systems are the same. The

differences are as a result of contextual influences which is peculiar to each country (Benson, 1999; Pfetsch & Esser, 2012). This chapter compares two seemingly non-identical countries although sharing some characteristics which will be elaborated on later in the thesis.

It is therefore essential to note that

cross-national comparisons are essential to any attempt to probe and understand the effects of different ways of controlling the mass media politically; and a central ingredient in any framework for comparative political communication analysis must be a set of dimensions specifying how the linkages between political and mass media organizations may vary in different societies (Blumler & Gurevitch 1995, p. 61)

The discussion of the findings in the thesis used literature, and the description of the data uses the methodologies named 'contextual description' and 'actor-or behaviour based centred' approaches (Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012). A proposition is made on the extent of the similarities and differences in the influence of commercialisation on political discussion in each print media (Livingstone, 2003).

Another interesting dimension of this study is the cross-national nature of this comparison. The international dimension is often said to be challenging but necessary. The results regarding concept clarification and deepening of one's understanding of communication principles, and practice (Gurevitch & Blumler, 2004; Livingstone, 2012).

In other words, the primary values of comparative communication research can be summed up in these few words, indispensable because of the many questions and phenomenal concepts it addresses, highly demanding due to the difficulties of conceptualisation and the practicality of fieldwork organisation and collaboration, rewarding as a result of the illuminating outcomes (Blumler & Gurevitch 1995).

This comparative chapter uses the same seven levels of content categories and themes from the in-depth interviews that were discussed in chapter six to eleven. Data analysed and discussed here will be evaluated between the two countries. The comparisons are to show the contextual influences of each country on the portrayal (Benson, 1999; Livingstone, 2003, 2012).

### 12.3 NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA TYPES OF ARTICLES.

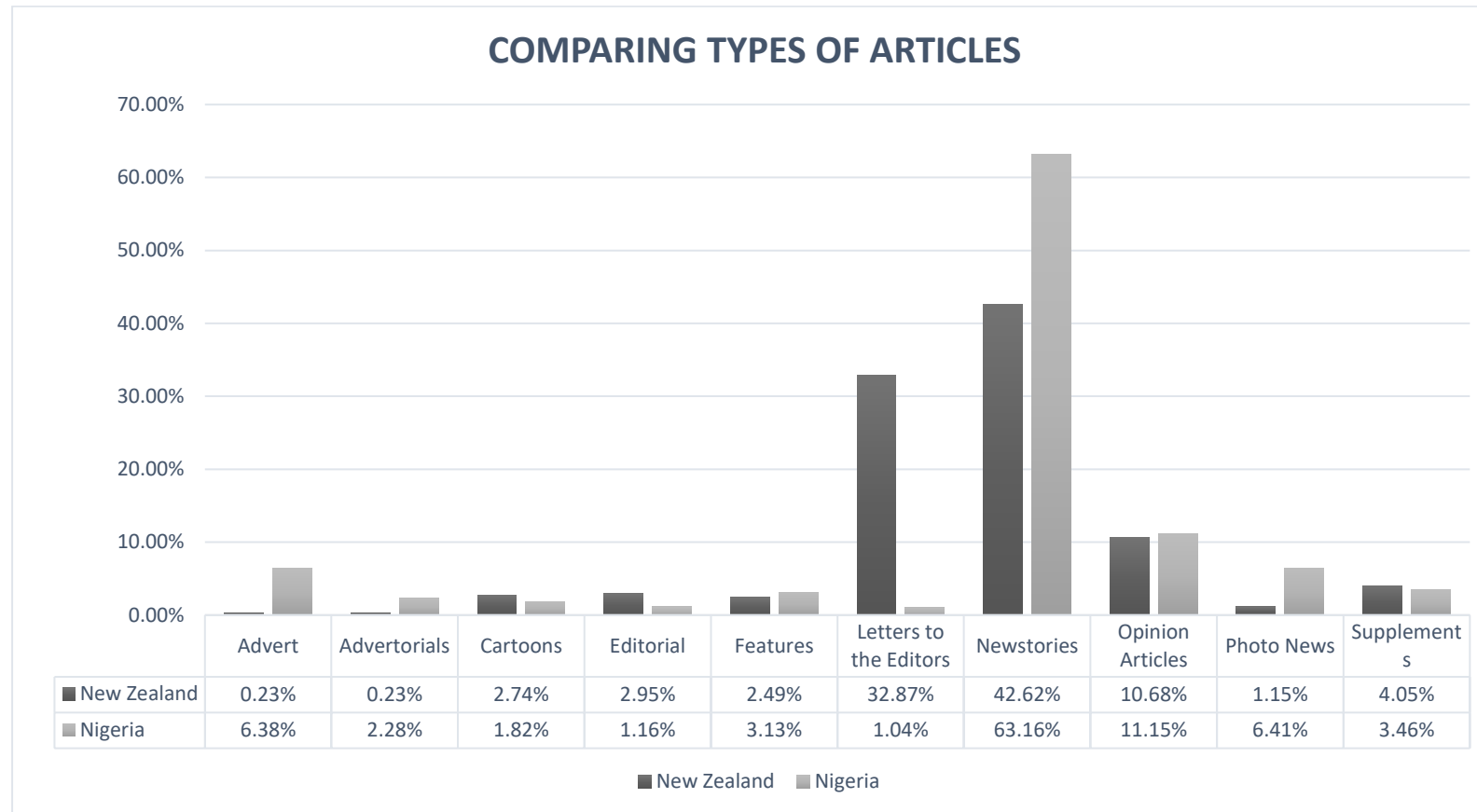
This section compares the types of articles and the different percentages of data in each of the ten items from each country. The percentage shows the relationship between the two countries and analyses the extent of the democratic role played by the articles in their newspapers.

**TABLE 12.1 COMPARING TYPES OF ARTICLES**

<b>Types of Articles</b>	<b>New Zealand</b>	<b>Nigeria</b>
Advert	0.23%	6.38%
Advertorials	0.23%	2.28%
Cartoons	2.74%	1.82%
Editorial	2.95%	1.16%
Features	2.49%	3.13%
Letters to the Editors	32.87%	1.04%
New stories	42.62%	63.16%
Opinion Articles	10.68%	11.15%
Photo News	1.15%	6.41%
Supplements	4.05%	3.46%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>



**FIGURE 12.1 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA TYPES OF ARTICLES.**



All these ten types of articles were reflected in the analysed commercialised newspapers of New Zealand and Nigeria. But, apparently, different levels of portrayal are seen among the types of articles. Advertisements for example is very low in New Zealand when compared to the numbers analysed from Nigerian newspapers. The uses of advertisements as a type of article, predominantly fulfils the second significant function of a commercialised newspaper, thereby qualifying the media not only as a social entity but also an industry. The downside to the argument is the belief by various scholars that it has a negative influence on political communication in general on the portrayal of the election in newspapers (Ariely, 2015). The advertisement which is a main symbol of commercialised publication is also said to compete with the media's social responsibility role in a democracy (Bardoel & d'Haenens, 2004; Papathanassopoulos, 1999).

However, it has also been established that the expectation of information dissemination, agenda setting, framing, and persuading should exceed the act of revenue generation from the newspapers (Collins et al., 2006), if newspapers are to serve democratic functions.

In comparing New Zealand newspapers to Nigerian newspapers, the similarity is in the fact that both countries recognise and use advertisements (See Table 12.1 & Figure 12.1) during their elections. The differences are in the number of advertisements used by each country. In New Zealand, the analysis of political advertisements was at (0.23, n= 10). This data is insignificant compared to the numbers of political articles analysed (n= 4345), whereas from Nigerian newspapers, (6.38 per cent, n=899) were used. The adverts from the Nigerian newspapers also have significant length and position (See chapter 7 &11) that shows they were strategically placed to generate more income for their newspapers.

As discovered in the qualitative data analysis in Chapter nine and eleven, Nigerian journalists attest to the fact that political advertisements were a primary source of revenue generation for the newspapers during an election year. Newspapers depended so much on such revenue generation to the extent that they altered their pagination to accommodate more political adverts during the period closest to the election. On the other hand, from New Zealand editors and journalists (Chapters 8 &10), there were no such assertions. The trend is because the political parties preferred other means of

advertisements and communication such as personal letters, online advertisements, broadcast media, and billboards.

The few New Zealand advertisements analysed were discovered to have regulated contents because the period of the election was monitored by the electoral regulatory body. These regulations and monitoring were well adhered to by all concerned such as newspapers, political parties, and the appointed government regulated bodies. But, on the other hand, in Nigeria, chapter 11 explicitly reveals newspapers ignored regulations and the appointed regulatory bodies were ineffective. Nigerian newspapers have also become negligent and publish based on affordability and the opportunity to generate more revenue during the election.

Advertorials were at 0.23 per cent in New Zealand and 2.28 per cent in Nigeria. These were also another source of direct revenue generation. The similarities and the differences between these types of the article show. New Zealand had the same number (n=10) and percentage, See Table 12.1 while Nigeria had n=321 Advertorials in their newspapers. The differences are that Nigerian media had more because it is deemed as another primary source of funding (See Tables 7.8 & 7.9, Section 11.6.2). The portrayal suggests that it plays more of a commercial role in the newspaper than the fostering of democracy. Further discussion in chapter eleven shows that Nigerian media deliberately use advertorials and advertisement for revenue generation without any regards for their democratic role expectations during an election. Nevertheless, some journalists argue that advertorials also allow the newspapers to fulfil their collaborative role under their democratic expectation. The justification supports that the newspapers give the possibility to varying groups in society who can afford to use the opportunity of publishing an advertorial to state their grievances to the government and other electorates.

Cartoons analysis and comparison is at (2.74 per cent) for New Zealand and (1.82 per cent) for Nigeria. Cartoons, as established in previous chapters, perform more of the radical role of the media. New Zealand newspapers, therefore, used this type of articles more than their Nigerian counterpart. In both countries, cartoons were used to satirise their government, mostly on issues related to the election and share almost the same number with their editorials (See Tables 6.2, 6.10, 7.10, & 7.11). Aside from numbers, a main difference is in the type of subject each of the countries uses cartoons to achieve.

New Zealand focuses on satirising policy conflicts or misdemeanour behaviour of political parties and politicians while corruption was the dominant issue of Nigerian newspapers cartoons. The topics of focus by each country's newspapers cartoons were from the political themes discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

Editorials were at (2.95 per cent) for New Zealand and (1.16 per cent) for Nigeria. The similarity here is that editorials like cartoons were the sole preserve of the newspapers (See Tables 6.10 & 7.20). They use editorials as a form of declaring the media house's stance on the political issue during the election in both countries (See Table 12.1). There was a higher use of editorials by New Zealand newspapers who had editorials on almost all the aspects of Government political activities. Tables 6.2 & 6.3, 6.4 show the number of days selected for New Zealand newspapers and the total number of editorials analysed, with almost an equal figure used. Nigerian newspapers likewise also used the same numbers of editorials (See Tables 7.12 & 7.13), which is also approximately equal to the numbers of days selected. Moreover, the editorials were also on the various aspects of government's political activities and representative democracy.

The newspapers organisations depict their independence and watchdog roles here by using editorials to criticise the ills of the election period. On most days of the newspaper publication, during the election, there was the active radical voice against factors that are undermining their democracy and election.

#### **12.4 COMPARING LENGTH OF ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA**

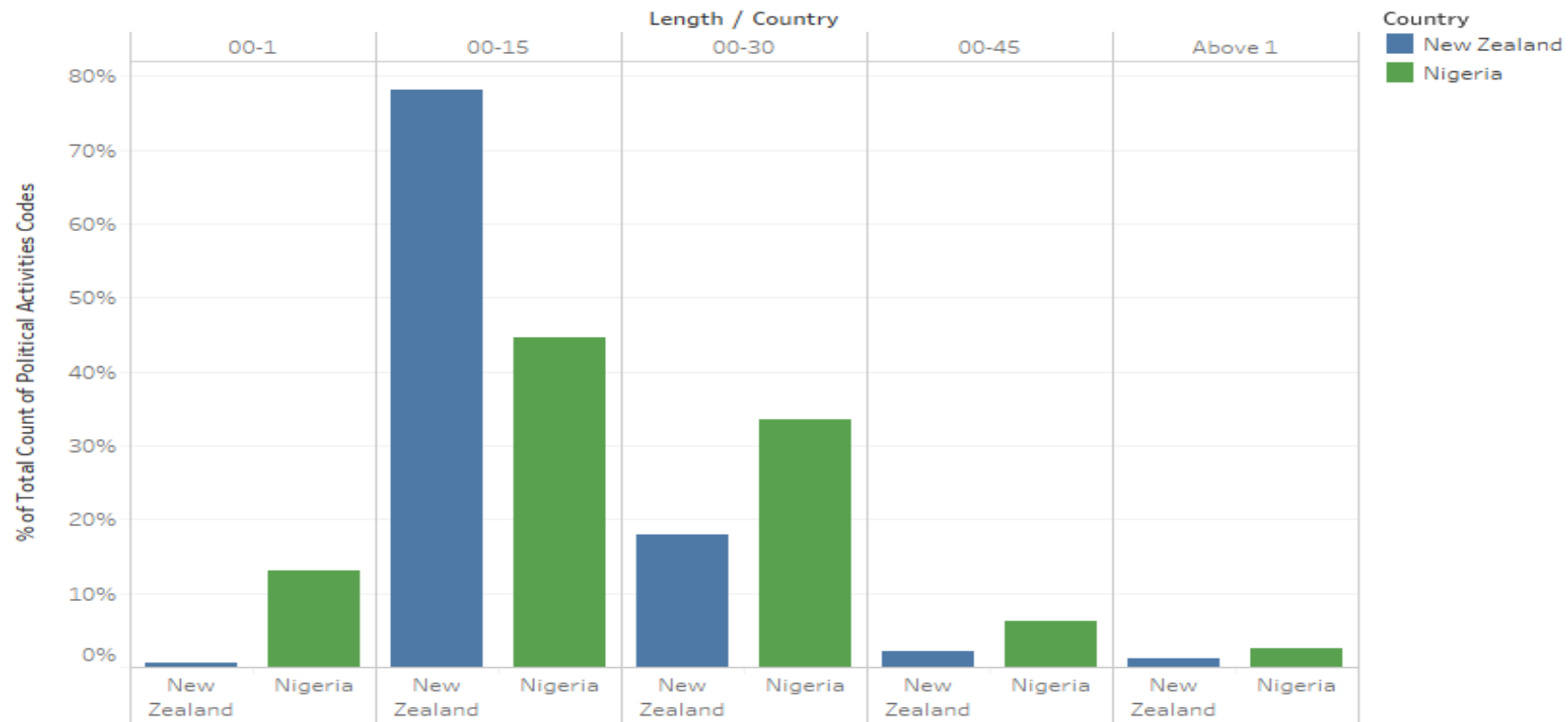
The relevance of measuring the length of articles cannot be overemphasised in this study (Godefroidt et al., 2016). The length of the articles studied were analysed under five categories, and the significance have been discussed in chapters five, six and seven. Thus, the need to compare the similarities and differences between the lengths of articles employed by each country studied.

**TABLE 12.2 COMPARING LENGTH OF ARTICLES.**

Length	New Zealand	Nigeria
up to 1/4 page	77.76%	46.36%
up to 1/2 page	17.98%	30.54%
up to 3/4 page	2.23%	6.12%
up to 1 page	0.81%	14.31%
Above 1	1.22%	2.67%
Total	100.0%	100.00%

**FIGURE 12.2 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS LENGTH OF ARTICLES**

LENGTH OF ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA.



% of Total Count of Political Activities Codes for each Country broken down by Length. Color shows details about Country. The data is filtered on Political Activities Codes, which excludes Null. The view is filtered on Length, which excludes Null.

The least of the lengths is the up to a quarter ( $1/4$ ) page, and this has the highest range for New Zealand at 77.76 per cent and Nigeria at 46.36 per cent. The two countries share similarities in the fact that most of their articles on political news have this length range. However, the first difference is that New Zealand has a higher use of this length range than Nigeria. The length range results from the ways newspapers articles are framed. As discovered and discussed in chapter six, (Table 6.8), the predominance of letters to the editors was responsible for this spike. Whereas, in chapter 7, table 7.13, news stories were accountable for the high use of the up to a quarter ( $1/4$ ) length by Nigerian newspapers.

The implication of this is that New Zealand media created a more democratic avenue for citizens' contribution while Nigerian newspapers reported the status quo whose dominant voices are the government (See Table 7.19).

The up to  $1/2$  page range is 17.98 per cent for New Zealand and 30.54 per cent for Nigeria. New Zealand and Nigerian newspaper share the similarity in that they made more use of this length range majorly for news stories. The differences discovered here are in the structure or types of news stories as described in chapters six and seven. While the former focused on the soft news, the latter's style was persistently the hard news style.

The up to  $3/4$  page has 2.23 per cent and 6.12 per cent, up to 1 page is 0.81 per cent, and 14.31 per cent and the above one range is 1.22 per cent and 2.67 per cent for New Zealand and Nigeria, respectively. The percentage shows a trend of inverse proportion for each country. The monitorial roles were reflected from the length usage of both New Zealand and Nigeria while New Zealand newspapers fulfil their facilitative role more because of the use of length for letters to the editors.

## **12.5 COMPARING POSITIONS OF ARTICLES**

The importance of position has been discussed, and the natural course in newspapers is that most articles have the inside page since these are more in proportion (See Figure 12.3 & Table 12.3a).

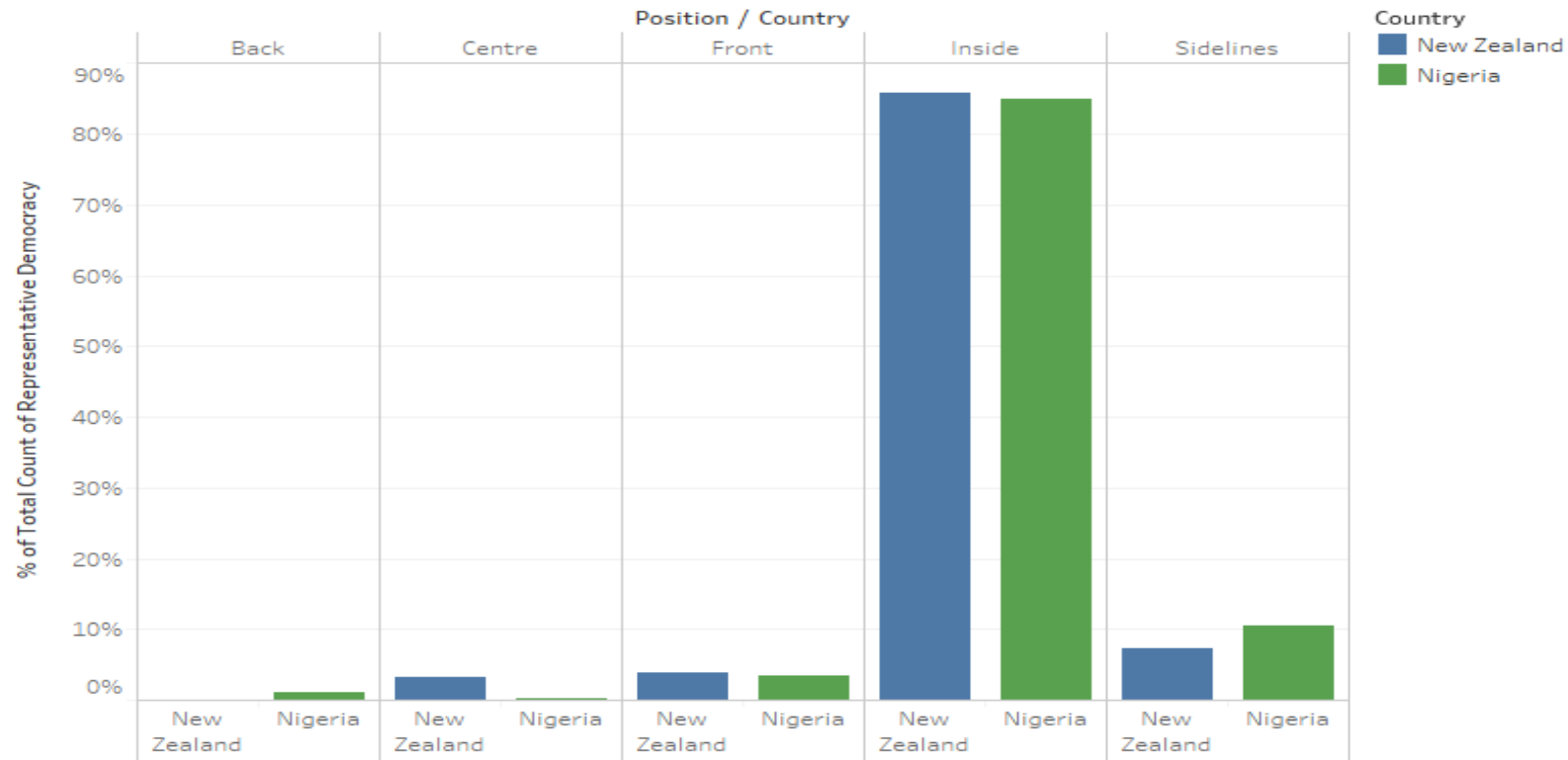
**TABLE 12.3a COMPARING POSITIONS OF ARTICLES**

Position	New Zealand	Nigeria
Inside	85.80%	84.96%
Side-lines	7.18%	10.44%
Front	3.82%	3.34%
Centre	3.18%	0.28%
Back	0.02%	0.98%
Total	100.00%	100.00%



**FIGURE 12.3 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS POSITION OF ARTICLES.**

### POSITION OF ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA



% of Total Count of Representative Democracy for each Country broken down by Position. Color shows details about Country. The view is filtered on Position, which excludes Null.

The prime spots are the front, back and centre spread and the addition of these positions for New Zealand gives 7.02 per cent while Nigeria has 4.6 per cent (See Table 12.4). The types of articles on these three spots that is the front, back and centre determine the level of portrayal. For example, New Zealand only has news stories (3.64), photo news (0.12) and supplements (0.02) on the front page while Nigeria alternatively has news stories (2.17), photo news (0.06) supplements (0.00). Meanwhile, articles like advertorials and adverts at (0.07) & (0.01) were found on the front page for Nigeria, but such types of articles did not show at all from New Zealand analysed newspapers.

The implication is that New Zealand portrays more political news on their front and centre page when compared to Nigeria. The description shows that political news is a leading theme used in projecting the newspapers, especially during an election, while Nigeria uses other types of articles like advertisements (Table 11.1 for descriptions of advertisement rates). New Zealand newspaper focus was on attracting needed electorates attention to political discourse, issues-oriented but Nigerian newspapers focus on events reporting.

**TABLE 12.3b NEW ZELAND'S AND NIGERIA'S PLACEMENT OF TYPES OF ARTICLES**

	Back	Centre	Front	Inside	Side- lines	<b>Grand Total</b>	Back	Centre	Front	Inside	Side- lines	<b>Grand Total</b>
	NG	NG	NG	NG	NG		NZ	NZ	NZ	NZ	NZ	
<b>Row Labels</b>	Back											
<b>Advert</b>	0.00%	0.18%	0.07%	6.12%	0.00%	<b>6.38%</b>	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.21%	0.00%	<b>0.23%</b>
<b>Advertorials</b>	0.00%	0.04%	0.01%	2.23%	0.00%	<b>2.28%</b>	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.23%	0.00%	<b>0.23%</b>
<b>Cartoons</b>	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	1.82%	0.00%	<b>1.82%</b>	0.00%	0.07%	0.00%	2.67%	0.00%	<b>2.74%</b>
<b>Editorial</b>	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.16%	0.00%	<b>1.16%</b>	0.00%	0.07%	0.00%	2.05%	0.83%	<b>2.95%</b>
<b>Features</b>	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	3.12%	0.00%	<b>3.13%</b>	0.00%	0.37%	0.00%	2.09%	0.02%	<b>2.49%</b>
<b>Letters to the Editors</b>	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.87%	0.17%	<b>1.04%</b>	0.00%	0.60%	0.00%	31.44%	0.83%	<b>32.87%</b>
<b>New stories</b>	0.03%	0.04%	2.17%	50.92%	10.01%	<b>63.16%</b>	0.02%	1.47%	3.64%	32.68%	4.81%	<b>42.62%</b>
<b>Opinion Articles</b>	0.89%	0.00%	0.00%	10.04%	0.21%	<b>11.15%</b>	0.00%	0.39%	0.05%	10.08%	0.16%	<b>10.68%</b>
<b>Photo News</b>	0.06%	0.00%	1.07%	5.29%	0.00%	<b>6.41%</b>	0.00%	0.02%	0.12%	1.01%	0.00%	<b>1.15%</b>
<b>Supplements</b>	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	3.38%	0.05%	<b>3.46%</b>	0.00%	0.16%	0.02%	3.34%	0.53%	<b>4.05%</b>
	0.98%	0.28%	3.34%	84.96%	10.45%	<b>100.00%</b>	0.02%	3.18%	3.82%	85.80%	7.18%	<b>100.00%</b>



## 12.6 COMPARING SOURCES OF ARTICLES

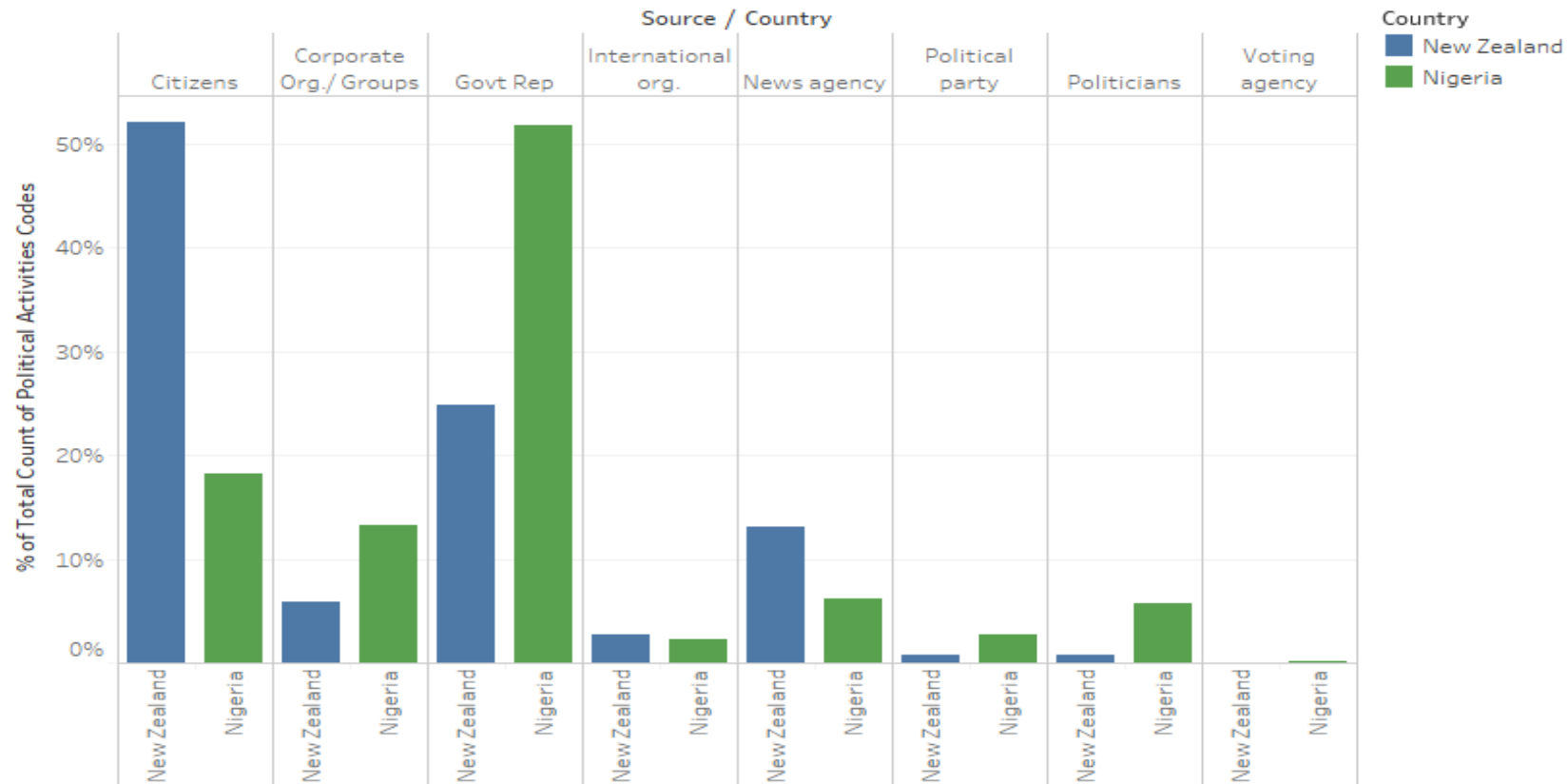
Chapter two of the thesis established the relationship between media and mass communication. It relates the fact that the media of mass communication are heterogeneous and therefore appropriate for use under democracy for information dissemination. The relationship confirms that democracy and journalism are mutually exclusive in using sources, who are their key players (Gans, 2003). Journalism needs to cite sources who are the participant in the communication process to be credible. In like manner, democracy requires inputs from everyone in the society to be representative and effective. These provide varying levels of credibility to each function (Armstrong, 2004; Berger, 1998).

**TABLE 12.4a COMPARING SOURCES OF ARTICLES**

Sources	New Zealand	Nigeria
Citizens	50.47%	17.89%
Govt. Rep	21.08%	43.58%
News agency	15.97%	5.50%
Corporate Org./ Groups	5.09%	11.64%
Politicians	2.53%	11.17%
Political party	2.49%	7.24%
International Org.	2.26%	1.53%
Voting agency	0.12%	1.47%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

**FIGURE 12.4 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA NEWSPAPERS SOURCES**

SOURCES CITED IN NEWSPAPERS ARTICLES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA



% of Total Count of Political Activities Codes for each Country broken down by Source. Color shows details about Country. The data is filtered on Political Activities Codes, which excludes Null. The view is filtered on Source, which excludes Null.

In comparing the sources from New Zealand newspapers with Nigerian, there is a high level of disparity. The first difference is seen in the fact that citizens are featured at 50.47 per cent in New Zealand while they were 17.89 per cent in Nigeria. Government representatives' views were dominant from Nigerian newspapers at 43.58 per cent than New Zealand which was at 21.08 per cent. The data implies that the former represents opinions from citizens more than the latter. The depiction of government voices is louder in Nigerian newspapers than citizen's voices in New Zealand and vice versa. The portrayal shows the elected versus the electorates in a representative democracy and the age-long myths of whose sides the media should reflect more (Graber, 2003). New Zealand media features more citizens through letters to the editors and even as sources in their news stories.

Moreover, New Zealand editors in chapter 8 established the fact that care is taken to reflect what the citizens want to read in their newspapers. Nigerian newspapers on the other attest to the fact that their newspaper is more elitist and not for the common man. Instead, the government voices are more credible as sources of political news in an election.

News agencies were more active in New Zealand when compared with Nigerian newspapers. Although they both share dominance in the same types of articles as shown in (table 6.10 & 7.17), the former has items such as opinion articles, cartoons, and editorials while the latter have cartoons, editorials, and features. Political parties and politicians were both actively cited as sources although Nigerian newspapers quoted these more than their New Zealand counterpart (See Table 12.4 & Figure 12.4). Judging from pertinent issues during the 2015 election in Nigeria (See section 7.4), politicians and political parties were highly visible (Dudley, 2013; Salawu & Hassan, 2011). The interview data in chapter nine by Nigerian newspapers' journalists and editors referred to the relationship between the media and politicians and their political parties. Although not cordial as each is suspicious of the other's intentions, yet the newspapers use the politicians as sources after verifying the credibility of the information gathered.

Corporate organisations and groups feature in both countries' election coverage. Nonetheless, Nigerian newspapers cited more due to the ethnic biases and affiliations present. The media uses such citations to portray the balance and fairness of representation of opinions in a highly divergent country (Abimbola, 2002). The various



groups reflected in Nigerian newspapers were the ethnic or professional groups (see section 7.4) for the description of the types of groups used mostly in advertisements, advertorials, and news stories. New Zealand media cited groups under news stories (See Table 6.10).

International organisations were cited more in New Zealand than in Nigeria. The reference was because of the role New Zealand plays as an established democracy in the world. The media were quick to point this out (Nagel, 1994). On the other hand, Nigeria is a country that was usually at the receiving end of 'help' from the developed or established democratic countries and international institutions during her elections (Chand, 1997).

Voting agency role was near nil in New Zealand newspapers whereas, from Nigerian newspapers, they were apparent, especially for their part in election education (See Table 12.5). There was a need for updates on such issues as voters' registration and election education by Nigerian newspapers. The need is because Nigerian electorates are sometimes ignorant of their roles in a democracy or election or even nonchalant about fulfilling it, due to the ineffectiveness of past democratically elected government in resolving societal issues. But such need was not prevalent in New Zealand as most electorates are well aware of their roles in an election and have benefited from the welfare status of their country, being an established democracy.



**TABLE 12.4b COMPARING SOURCES IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Row Labels	Citizens	Corporate Org./ Groups	Govt Rep	International org.	News agency	Political party	Politicians	Voting agency	Grand Total
 <b>New Zealand</b>	<b>43.14%</b>	<b>1.58%</b>	<b>3.69%</b>	<b>0.13%</b>	<b>29.68%</b>	<b>10.55%</b>	<b>10.82%</b>	<b>0.40%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
Elections Education	0.40%	0.13%	0.40%		1.98%	0.26%	0.66%	0.13%	3.96%
Elections ELT	22.43%	0.79%	2.24%		17.81%	7.52%	5.41%	0.13%	56.33%
Electorate Reactions EOU	11.74%	0.26%	0.79%	0.13%	3.43%	1.85%	0.53%		18.73%
Political Parties PPA	8.58%	0.40%	0.26%		6.46%	0.79%	4.09%		20.58%
Voting Agency VOA						0.13%	0.13%	0.13%	0.40%
 <b>Nigeria</b>	<b>17.60%</b>	<b>9.40%</b>	<b>31.97%</b>	<b>0.58%</b>	<b>4.52%</b>	<b>13.60%</b>	<b>19.04%</b>	<b>3.28%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
Elections Education	0.40%	0.15%	0.36%		0.46%	0.03%	0.09%	0.33%	1.82%
Elections ELT	7.22%	6.22%	25.06%	0.41%	2.01%	8.04%	10.50%	1.29%	60.76%
Electorate Reactions EOU	8.89%	2.48%	4.97%	0.17%	1.48%	2.80%	5.53%	1.20%	27.52%
Political Parties PPA	0.72%	0.29%	0.52%		0.41%	2.41%	2.75%	0.05%	7.15%
Voters Registration VRG	0.19%	0.05%	0.81%		0.02%	0.05%	0.02%	0.17%	1.31%
Voting Agency VOA	0.19%	0.21%	0.26%		0.14%	0.26%	0.15%	0.24%	1.44%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>60.74%</b>	<b>10.98%</b>	<b>35.66%</b>	<b>0.72%</b>	<b>34.20%</b>	<b>24.15%</b>	<b>29.86%</b>	<b>3.68%</b>	<b>200.00%</b>

### **12.7 COMPARING GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

One of the critical focus in this study is the extent of the newspaper portrayal of government activities. Government political activities are the lists of events the government were involved in before, during and after the elections in New Zealand and Nigeria. The election in any democracy is concerned with electing leaders. Therefore, the contents of political news are divided into government political activities and representative democracy. These were examined with 21 categories of analysis, depicting different levels of portrayals from each country. The similarities and differences show figuratively in table 12.5 and Figure 12. 5.

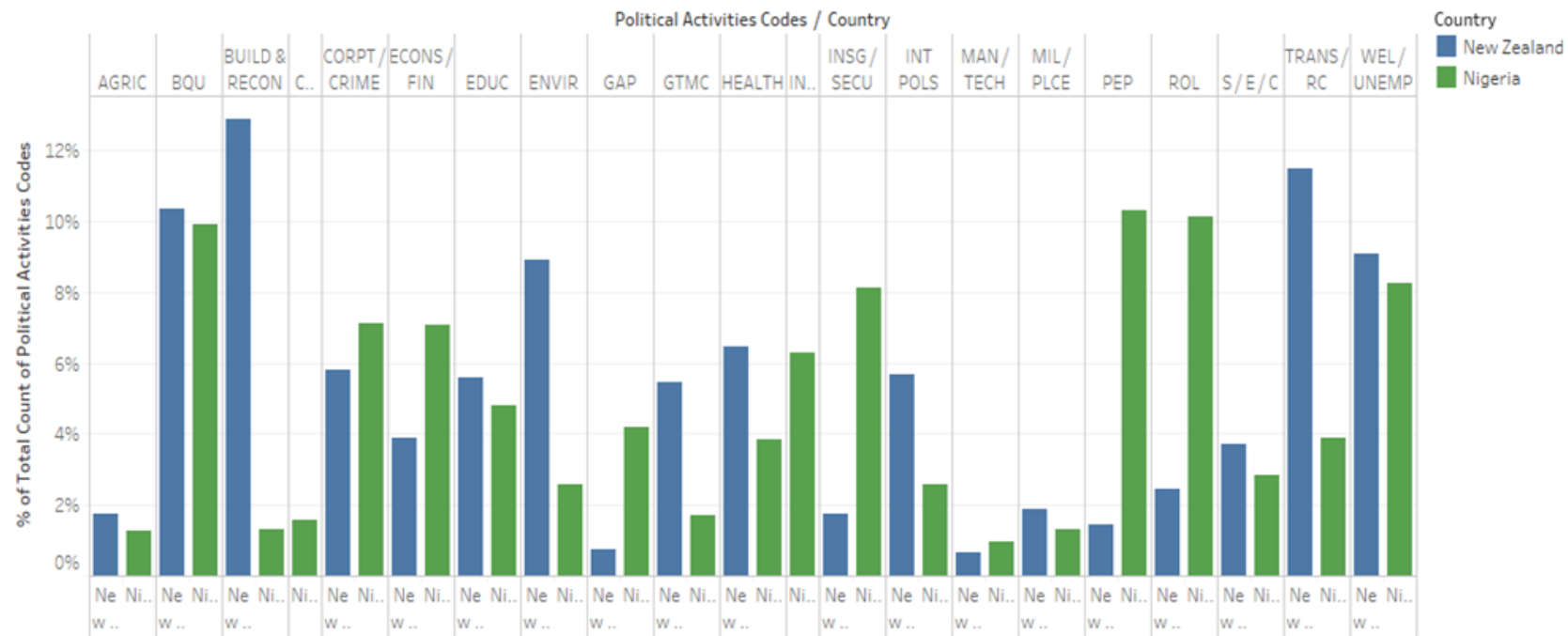
**TABLE 12.5 GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES	NEW ZEALAND	NIGERIA
AGRICULTURE	1.73%	1.29%
BUILDING& RECONSTRUCTION	12.89%	1.30%
BUREAUCRATIC ACTIVITIES	10.35%	9.92%
COMMUNICATION	None	1.57%
CORRUPTION / CRIME	5.81%	7.13%
ECONOMICS / FINANCE	3.91%	7.06%
EDUCATION	5.58%	4.79%
ENVIRONMENT	8.93%	2.57%
GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT	0.73%	4.20%
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND CORPORATIONS	5.44%	1.69%
HEALTH	6.45%	3.82%
INAUGURATION	NONE	6.28%
INSURGENCY / SECURITY	1.73%	8.12%
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	5.67%	2.57%
MANUFACTURING/ TECHNOLOGY	0.67%	0.95%
MILITARY / POLICE	1.90%	1.31%
POWER/ELECTRICITY/PETROLEUM	1.45%	10.32%
THE RULE OF LAW	2.46%	10.12%
SOCIAL / ENTERTAINMENT / CULTURE	3.71%	2.85%
TRANSPORTATION / ROAD CONSTRUCTION	11.50%	3.88%
WELFARE / UNEMPLOYMENT	9.10%	8.25%
Total	100.00%	100.00%



**FIGURE 12.5 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA 'S NEWSPAPERS GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

COMPARING GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA.



% of Total Count of Political Activities Codes for each Country broken down by Political Activities Codes. Color shows details about Country. The view is filtered on Political Activities Codes and Country. The Political Activities Codes filter excludes Null. The Country filter keeps New Zealand and Nigeria.

The differences in the portrayal as discussed in chapter six and seven reflect the trends in the political sphere of each country examined. It shows the dominance or the relegation of the various themes. New Zealand, because of her peculiarity has a high level of the building and reconstruction theme while Nigerian newspapers' dominant theme was Power/electricity/petroleum. Chapter six and seven discuss reasons for these differences. The key issues were based on the focus of government activities at the selected time of the analysis. For example, New Zealand had witnessed an earthquake a few years back, (2010, 2011) and was undergoing significant rebuilds. Auckland the commercial nerve was experiencing transportation issues due to population explosion. Nigeria had the infrastructural problem with electricity, petroleum scarcity, security threats from the Boko Haram insurgency and the rule of law. Both country's newspapers fulfil their monitorial roles by providing adequate information needed by the electorates to assess the performance of their government.

However, the other levels of comparison are in the types of sources cited, and the media roles in the government political activities analysed from each country.

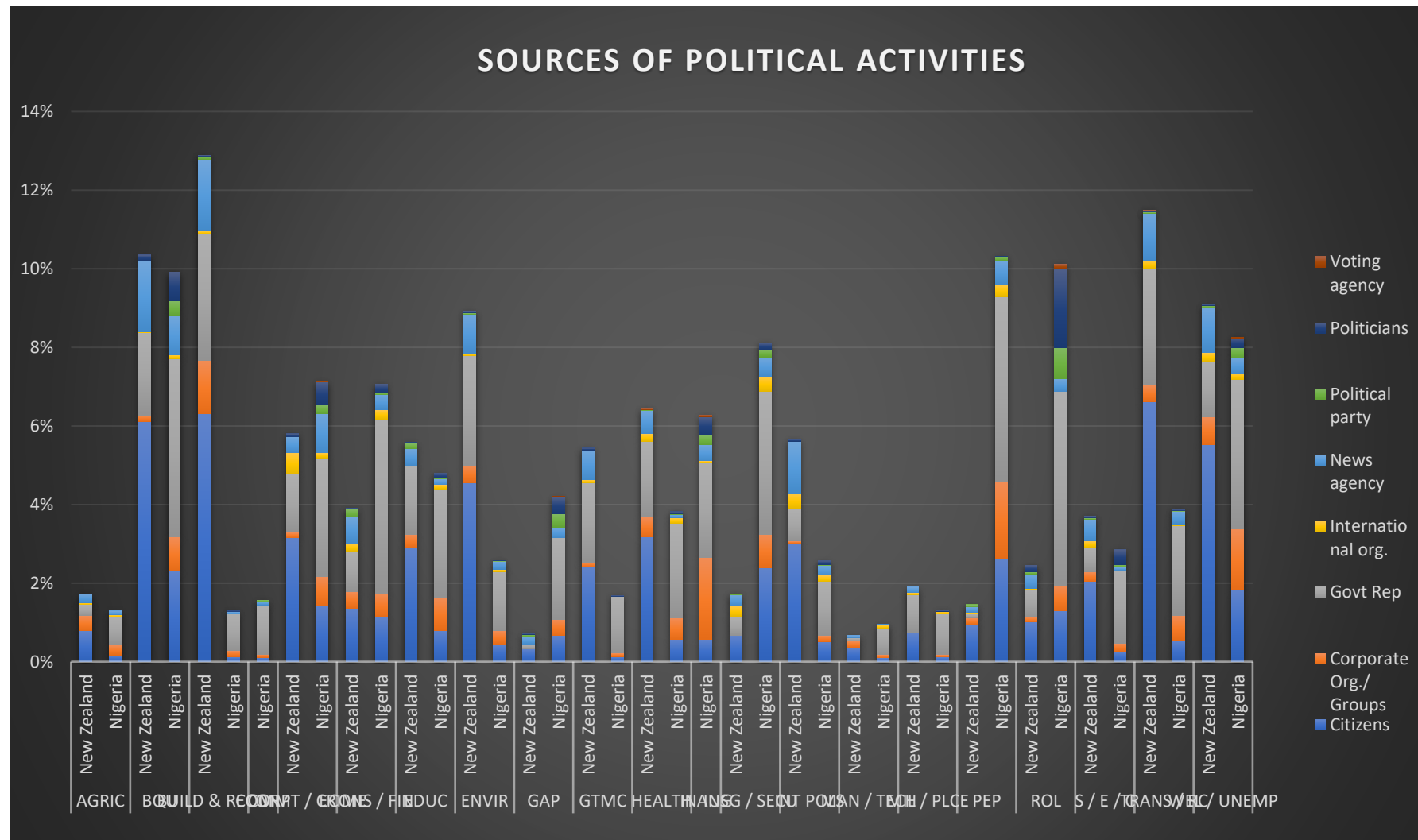
**TABLE 12.6a SOURCES CITED IN GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

Row Labels	Citizens	Corporate Org./ Groups	Govt Rep	International org.	News agency	Political party	Politicians	Voting agency	TOTAL
<b>AGRIC</b>	<b>0.95%</b>	<b>0.65%</b>	<b>0.98%</b>	<b>0.13%</b>	<b>0.31%</b>				<b>3.02%</b>
New Zealand	0.78%	0.39%	0.28%	0.06%	0.22%				1.73%
Nigeria	0.17%	0.25%	0.70%	0.07%	0.08%				1.29%
<b>BQU</b>	<b>8.43%</b>	<b>1.02%</b>	<b>6.63%</b>	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>2.80%</b>	<b>0.39%</b>	<b>0.87%</b>		<b>20.27%</b>
New Zealand	6.11%	0.17%	2.09%	0.03%	1.81%		0.14%		10.35%
Nigeria	2.32%	0.85%	4.54%	0.11%	0.98%	0.39%	0.73%		9.92%
<b>BUILD &amp; RECON</b>	<b>6.44%</b>	<b>1.51%</b>	<b>4.16%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>1.86%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>0.05%</b>		<b>14.19%</b>
New Zealand	6.31%	1.37%	3.21%	0.08%	1.81%	0.08%	0.03%		12.89%
Nigeria	0.13%	0.15%	0.95%		0.05%		0.02%		1.30%
<b>COMM</b>	<b>0.11%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>1.21%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>			<b>1.57%</b>
Nigeria	0.11%	0.08%	1.21%	0.04%	0.08%	0.04%			1.57%
<b>CORPT / CRIME</b>	<b>4.57%</b>	<b>0.89%</b>	<b>4.49%</b>	<b>0.69%</b>	<b>1.39%</b>	<b>0.22%</b>	<b>0.67%</b>	<b>0.01%</b>	<b>12.93%</b>
New Zealand	3.15%	0.14%	1.48%	0.56%	0.39%		0.08%		5.81%
Nigeria	1.42%	0.75%	3.01%	0.13%	1.00%	0.22%	0.58%	0.01%	7.13%
<b>ECONS / FIN</b>	<b>2.50%</b>	<b>1.03%</b>	<b>5.46%</b>	<b>0.44%</b>	<b>1.06%</b>	<b>0.24%</b>	<b>0.25%</b>		<b>10.97%</b>
New Zealand	1.37%	0.42%	1.03%	0.20%	0.67%	0.20%	0.03%		3.91%
Nigeria	1.13%	0.61%	4.43%	0.24%	0.39%	0.05%	0.22%		7.06%
<b>EDUC</b>	<b>3.70%</b>	<b>1.16%</b>	<b>4.50%</b>	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>0.56%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>	<b>0.14%</b>		<b>10.38%</b>
New Zealand	2.90%	0.33%	1.73%	0.03%	0.42%	0.14%	0.03%		5.58%
Nigeria	0.80%	0.83%	2.77%	0.11%	0.15%	0.04%	0.11%		4.79%
<b>ENVIR</b>	<b>5.00%</b>	<b>0.79%</b>	<b>4.30%</b>	<b>0.12%</b>	<b>1.20%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>0.07%</b>		<b>11.50%</b>
New Zealand	4.55%	0.45%	2.79%	0.06%	1.00%	0.03%	0.06%		8.93%
Nigeria	0.45%	0.34%	1.51%	0.06%	0.19%	0.01%	0.01%		2.57%
<b>GAP</b>	<b>1.00%</b>	<b>0.41%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>		<b>0.46%</b>	<b>0.40%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>	<b>0.01%</b>	<b>4.93%</b>
New Zealand	0.33%		0.11%		0.20%	0.06%	0.03%		0.73%
Nigeria	0.67%	0.41%	2.08%		0.27%	0.34%	0.42%	0.01%	4.20%
<b>GTMC</b>	<b>2.53%</b>	<b>0.22%</b>	<b>3.44%</b>	<b>0.10%</b>	<b>0.75%</b>		<b>0.08%</b>		<b>7.13%</b>
New Zealand	2.40%	0.14%	2.01%	0.08%	0.75%		0.06%		5.44%
Nigeria	0.13%	0.08%	1.43%	0.01%			0.02%		1.69%
<b>HEALTH</b>	<b>3.75%</b>	<b>1.05%</b>	<b>4.33%</b>	<b>0.34%</b>	<b>0.67%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>0.06%</b>	<b>0.03%</b>	<b>10.27%</b>
New Zealand	3.18%	0.50%	1.93%	0.20%	0.59%	0.03%		0.03%	6.45%
Nigeria	0.57%	0.55%	2.40%	0.15%	0.08%	0.01%	0.06%		3.82%
<b>INAUG</b>	<b>0.57%</b>	<b>2.09%</b>	<b>2.42%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>0.41%</b>	<b>0.24%</b>	<b>0.47%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>6.28%</b>
Nigeria	0.57%	2.09%	2.42%	0.04%	0.41%	0.24%	0.47%	0.04%	6.28%
<b>INSG / SECU</b>	<b>3.05%</b>	<b>0.86%</b>	<b>4.12%</b>	<b>0.66%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>0.21%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>		<b>9.85%</b>
New Zealand	0.67%		0.47%	0.28%	0.28%	0.03%			1.73%
Nigeria	2.38%	0.86%	3.64%	0.38%	0.50%	0.18%	0.18%		8.12%
<b>INT POLS</b>	<b>3.52%</b>	<b>0.21%</b>	<b>2.18%</b>	<b>0.58%</b>	<b>1.57%</b>	<b>0.01%</b>	<b>0.17%</b>		<b>8.24%</b>
New Zealand	3.01%	0.06%	0.81%	0.42%	1.31%		0.06%		5.67%
Nigeria	0.51%	0.16%	1.37%	0.16%	0.25%	0.01%	0.11%		2.57%
<b>MAN / TECH</b>	<b>0.46%</b>	<b>0.25%</b>	<b>0.75%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>0.07%</b>				<b>1.62%</b>
New Zealand	0.36%	0.17%	0.08%		0.06%				0.67%
Nigeria	0.10%	0.08%	0.67%	0.08%	0.01%				0.95%
<b>MIL / PLCE</b>	<b>0.85%</b>	<b>0.09%</b>	<b>1.98%</b>	<b>0.13%</b>	<b>0.14%</b>		<b>0.02%</b>		<b>3.21%</b>
New Zealand	0.73%	0.03%	0.95%	0.06%	0.14%				1.90%
Nigeria	0.12%	0.06%	1.03%	0.07%			0.02%		1.31%
<b>PEP</b>	<b>3.56%</b>	<b>2.16%</b>	<b>4.80%</b>	<b>0.34%</b>	<b>0.76%</b>	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>0.01%</b>		<b>11.77%</b>
New Zealand	0.95%	0.17%	0.11%	0.03%	0.14%	0.06%			1.45%
Nigeria	2.61%	1.99%	4.69%	0.32%	0.62%	0.08%	0.01%		10.32%
<b>ROL</b>	<b>2.30%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>5.63%</b>	<b>0.03%</b>	<b>0.69%</b>	<b>0.86%</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>0.12%</b>	<b>12.58%</b>
New Zealand	1.00%	0.14%	0.70%	0.03%	0.36%	0.06%	0.17%		2.46%
Nigeria	1.30%	0.64%	4.93%		0.33%	0.80%	2.00%	0.12%	10.12%
<b>S / E / C</b>	<b>2.30%</b>	<b>0.46%</b>	<b>2.46%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>	<b>0.63%</b>	<b>0.10%</b>	<b>0.43%</b>		<b>6.56%</b>
New Zealand	2.04%	0.25%	0.61%	0.17%	0.56%	0.03%	0.06%		3.71%
Nigeria	0.27%	0.21%	1.85%	0.01%	0.07%	0.07%	0.38%		2.85%
<b>TRANS / RC</b>	<b>7.16%</b>	<b>1.05%</b>	<b>5.24%</b>	<b>0.27%</b>	<b>1.52%</b>	<b>0.04%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>0.03%</b>	<b>15.38%</b>
New Zealand	6.61%	0.42%	2.96%	0.22%	1.20%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	11.50%
Nigeria	0.55%	0.63%	2.28%	0.05%	0.32%	0.01%	0.05%		3.88%
<b>WEL / UNEMP</b>	<b>7.35%</b>	<b>2.25%</b>	<b>5.22%</b>	<b>0.39%</b>	<b>1.53%</b>	<b>0.32%</b>	<b>0.27%</b>	<b>0.01%</b>	<b>17.35%</b>
New Zealand	5.53%	0.70%	1.42%	0.22%	1.14%	0.06%	0.03%		9.10%
Nigeria	1.82%	1.55%	3.80%	0.17%	0.39%	0.27%	0.24%	0.01%	8.25%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>70.12%</b>	<b>19.02%</b>	<b>76.48%</b>	<b>4.90%</b>	<b>19.24%</b>	<b>3.55%</b>	<b>6.44%</b>	<b>0.25%</b>	<b>200.00%</b>





FIGURE 12.6 SOURCES CITED IN GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY





A sample comparison of the three highest rank issues in New Zealand and Nigeria with the principal sources cited.

**TABLE 12.6b COMPARING THREE MAJOR GOVT.POLT. ACTS**

GOVT. ACTIVITY	BUILD& RECONT	TRANSPORT& ROAD CONST.	BQU	GOVT. ACTIVITY	P/E/P	ROL	BQU
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>	12.89%	11.50%	10.35%	<b>NIGERIA</b>	10.32%	10.12	9.92%
SOURCES	Citizens	Citizens	Citizens	SOURCES	Govt rep	Govt rep	Govt rep
%	6.31	6.61	6.11	%	4.69	4.93	4.54

Table 12.6b shows the differences in the three highest ranked government political activities from each country and the source cited. The downside to Nigerian newspapers is that where the issues concerning the electorates and their views should be portrayed, the government voices were still dominant. Nigerian newspapers are not fulfilling their role as a media sphere to encourage political discourse in their democracy as there is an imbalance in the portrayal of the government over the citizens. New Zealand newspapers not only focused on the relevant issues but provided a level playing ground for political discourse to all the participants in democracy.

## **12.8 COMPARING REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

The second stratification is the representative democracy. There was a literature reviewed on this theme in chapter two and chapters six and seven further describe with data from New Zealand and Nigeria.

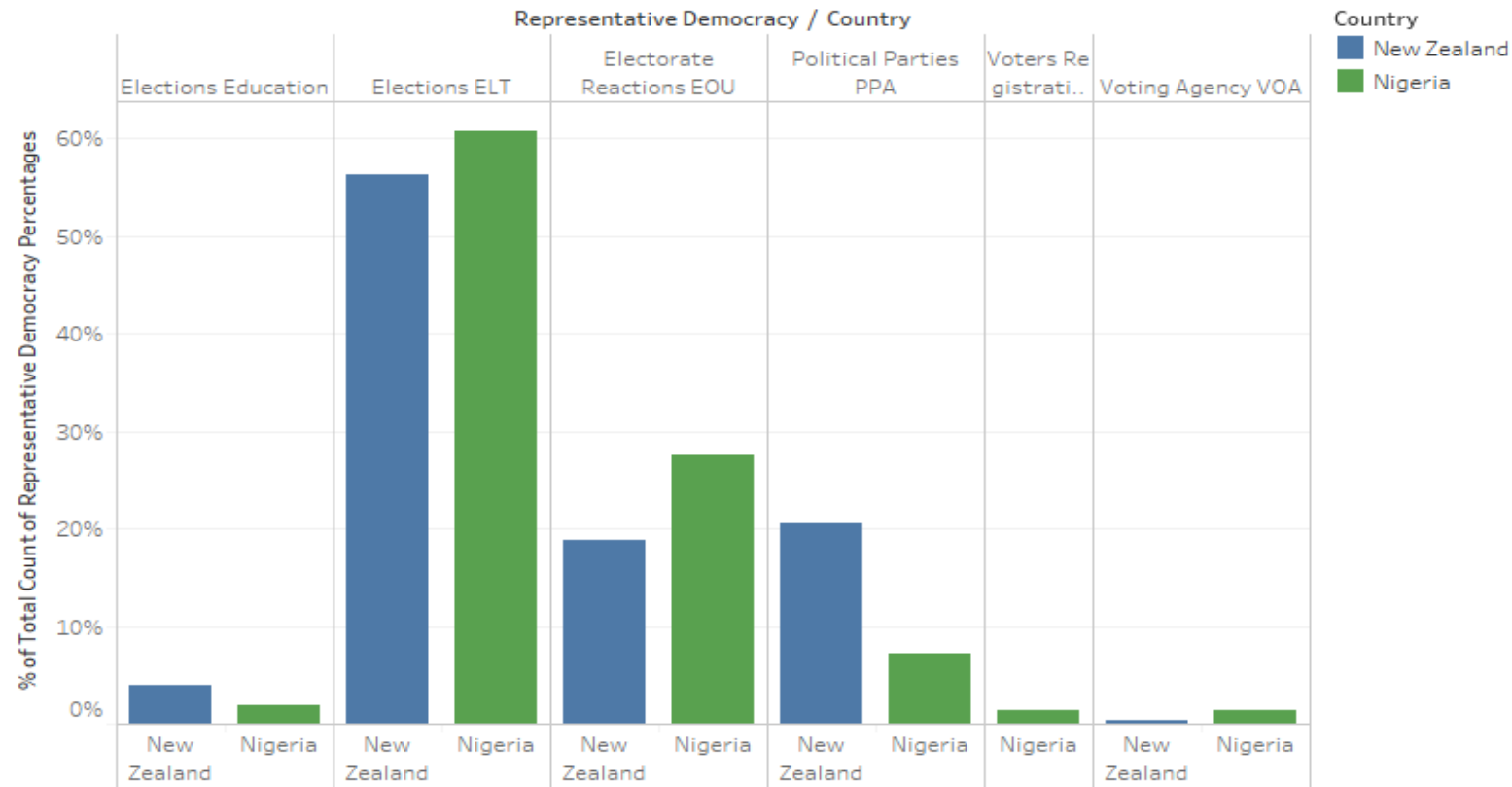
Also, this section examines the differences and similarities portrayed.

**TABLE 12.7 COMPARING REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY ACTIVITIES**

Representative Democracy	New Zealand	Nigeria
Elections ELT	56.33%	60.76%
Political Parties PPA	20.58%	7.15%
Electorate Reactions EOU	18.73%	27.52%
Elections Education	3.96%	1.82%
Voting Agency VOA	0.40%	1.44%
Voter's Registration		1.31%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

**FIGURE 12.7 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA NEWSPAPERS ARTICLES ON REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.**

COMPARING ARTICLES ON REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA



% of Total Count of Representative Democracy Percentages for each Country broken down by Representative Democracy. Color shows details about Country. The view is filtered on Representative Democracy, which has multiple members selected.

From table 12. 7, the first similarity noticed is that both country's articles rose to the peak on the theme of elections. The study examined the period before, during and after the elections in both countries. This increase in the numbers of articles was related to the portrayal of the election theme from Nigerian and New Zealand newspapers within the selected period of the analysis.

However, the differences are that, first, Nigerian newspapers next leading focus was on the reactions of the electorates to the outcome of the 2015 election. Elections in Nigeria usually generates conflicts due to various reasons enumerated by (Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006; Suberu, 2007). But New Zealand election coverage is typically forward-looking towards the next administration and its functionalities. Another difference is that New Zealand newspapers did not focus on voter registration at all because the electoral body does, through personalised means. There often was no need for the papers to significantly portray this issue as most electorates were registered and tended to vote whereas, Nigerians newspapers used this means to encourage voters to register and collect their voter's cards needed for voting.

### **12.9 COMPARING MEDIA ROLES.**

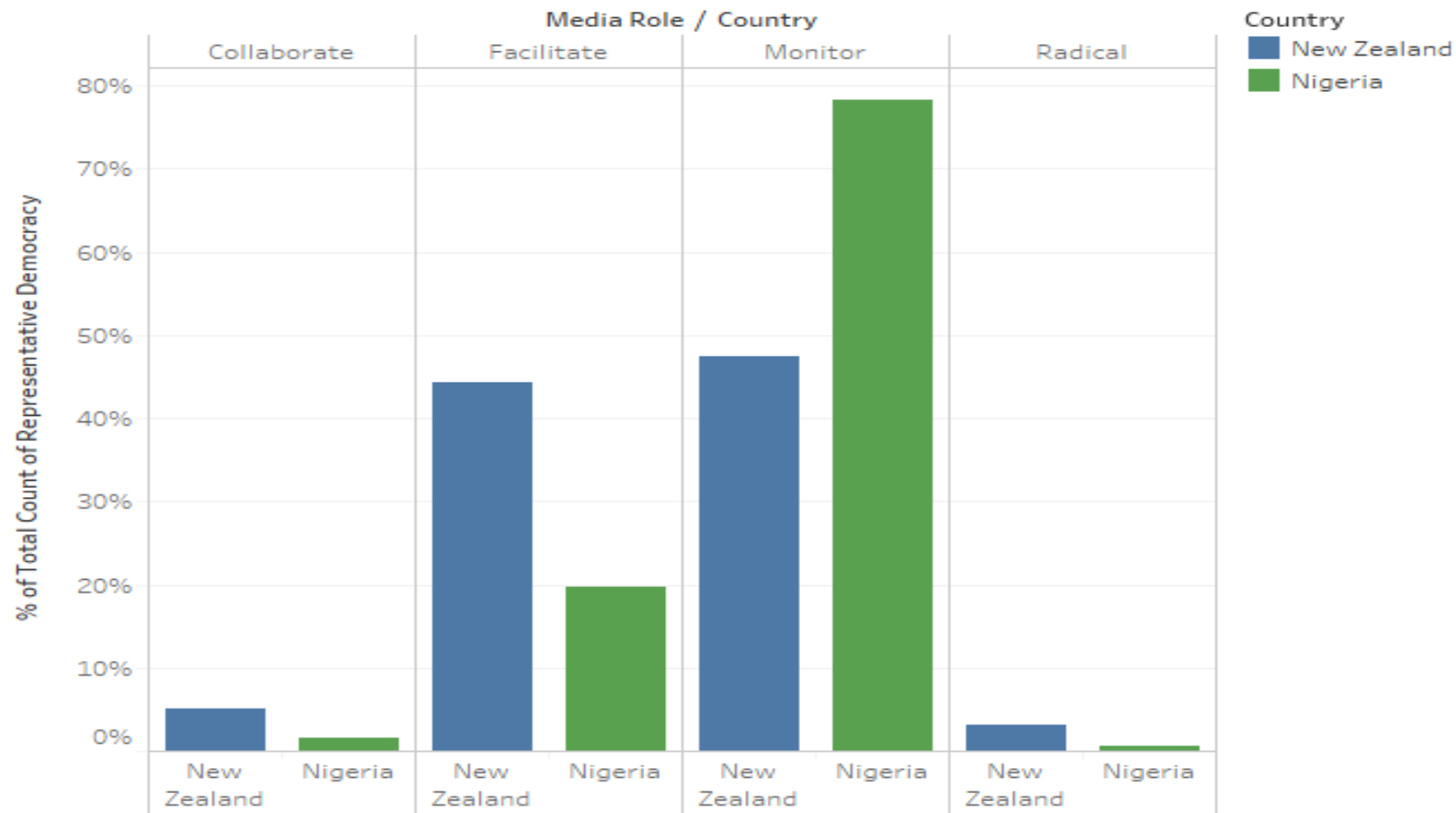
Media roles in a democracy have been exhaustively discussed in this study from the theoretical view of chapter four and usage in chapters six and seven. The theoretical underpinning for the thesis on newspapers' democratic roles are four. These are variants of the normative role of democracy which are the monitorial, facilitative, and collaborative and the radical roles (Christians et al., 2009). The levels of portrayals of the media roles of journalists from the two countries are shown in table 12.8 and figure 12.8.

**TABLE 12.8 MEDIA ROLES.**

Media Role	New Zealand	Nigeria
Collaborate	6.04%	1.51%
Facilitate	46.76%	20.79%
Monitor	43.84%	77.22%
Radical	3.36%	0.48%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

**FIGURE 12.8 COMPARING NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA NEWSPAPERS MEDIA ROLES.**

## MEDIA ROLES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA



% of Total Count of Representative Democracy for each Country broken down by Media Role. Color shows details about Country. The data is filtered on Political Activities Codes, which excludes Null. The view is filtered on Exclusions (Country,Media Role), which keeps 8 members.



The expectations from the media were codified into these four roles, but the seemingly most democratic of the role is the facilitative role, followed by the monitorial, collaborative and radical role. The media should strive for a balance between the first two; that is, facilitative and monitorial and support their functions with the last two, collaborative and radical. In the analysis of both countries, newspapers reflect all the four media roles. Though, New Zealand media differentiate herself from the Nigerian press by having an almost similar depiction of the facilitative functions at 46.76 per cent, and the monitorial roles at 43.84 per cent. Nigerian media had an imbalance use of these roles as the monitorial roles dominated at 77.22 per cent while the other three roles shared the less than a quarter of the total percentage. From Nigerian media, the radical role is near extinction from the analysed newspapers which contrast with the history of the media, as being more vocal and radical. The tables and figures below further illustrate media roles in government political activities and representative democracy in each country.

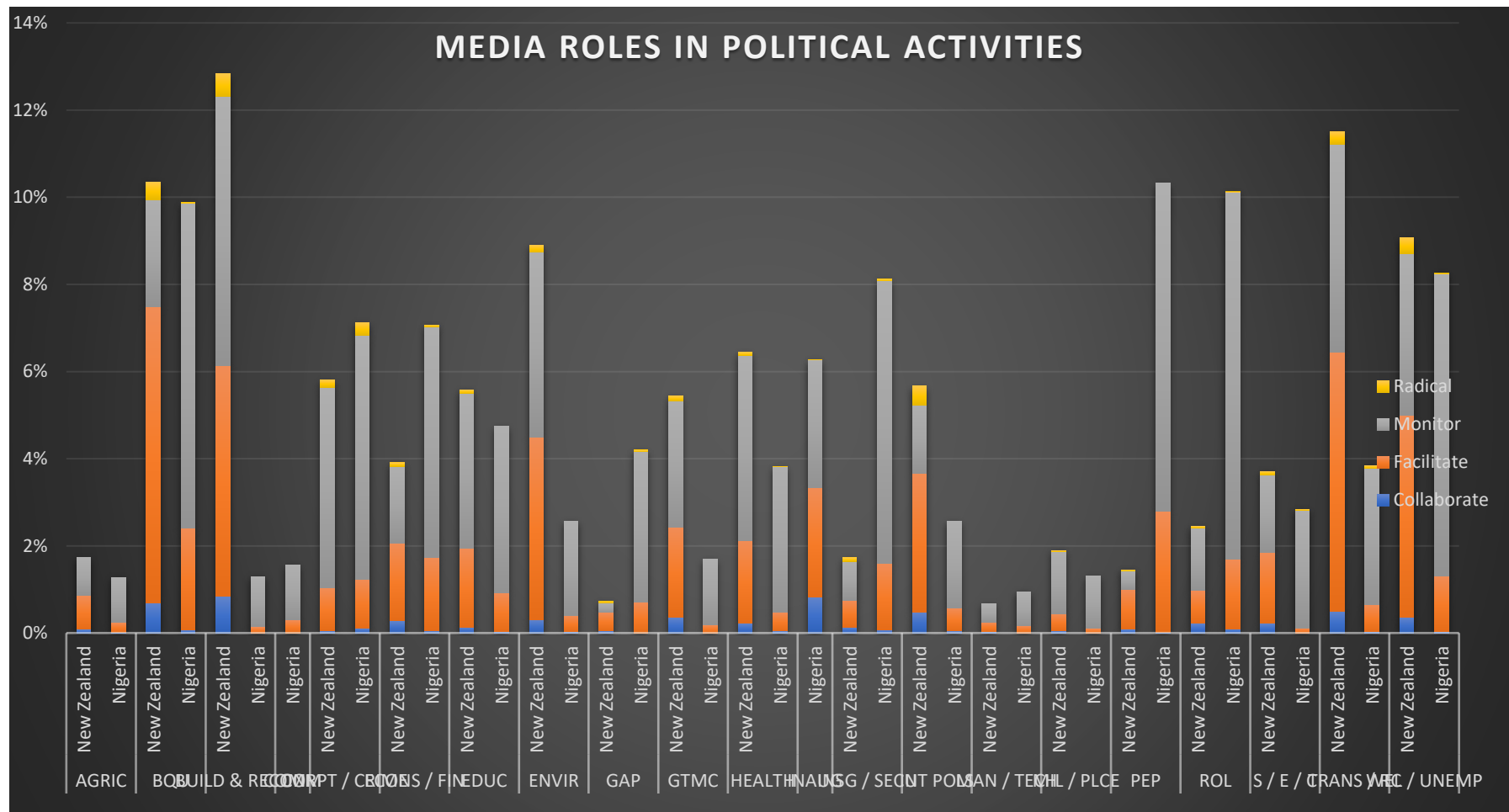
**TABLE 12.9 COMPARING MEDIA ROLES ON GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

Row Labels	Collaborate	Facilitate	Monitor	Radical	TOTAL
<b>AGRIC</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>		<b>3%</b>
New Zealand	0%	1%	1%		2%
Nigeria	0%	0%	1%		1%
<b>BQU</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>20%</b>
New Zealand	1%	7%	2%	0%	10%
Nigeria	0%	2%	7%	0%	10%
<b>BUILD &amp; RECON</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>14%</b>
New Zealand	1%	5%	6%	1%	13%
Nigeria		0%	1%		1%
<b>COMM</b>		<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>		<b>2%</b>
Nigeria		0%	1%		2%
<b>CORPT / CRIME</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>13%</b>
New Zealand	0%	1%	5%	0%	6%
Nigeria	0%	1%	6%	0%	7%
<b>ECONS / FIN</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>11%</b>
New Zealand	0%	2%	2%	0%	4%
Nigeria	0%	2%	5%	0%	7%
<b>EDUC</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>10%</b>
New Zealand	0%	2%	4%	0%	6%
Nigeria	0%	1%	4%		5%
<b>ENVIR</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>11%</b>
New Zealand	0%	4%	4%	0%	9%
Nigeria	0%	0%	2%		3%
<b>GAP</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>5%</b>
New Zealand	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Nigeria		1%	3%	0%	4%
<b>GTMC</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>7%</b>
New Zealand	0%	2%	3%	0%	5%
Nigeria		0%	1%		2%
<b>HEALTH</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>10%</b>
New Zealand	0%	2%	4%	0%	6%
Nigeria	0%	0%	3%	0%	4%
<b>INAUG</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>6%</b>
Nigeria	1%	3%	3%	0%	6%
<b>INSG / SECU</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>10%</b>
New Zealand	0%	1%	1%	0%	2%
Nigeria	0%	2%	6%	0%	8%
<b>INT POLS</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>8%</b>
New Zealand	0%	3%	2%	0%	6%
Nigeria	0%	1%	2%		3%
<b>MAN / TECH</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>		<b>2%</b>
New Zealand	0%	0%	0%		1%
Nigeria		0%	1%		1%
<b>MIL / PLCE</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>3%</b>
New Zealand	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%
Nigeria		0%	1%		1%
<b>PEP</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>12%</b>
New Zealand	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Nigeria	0%	3%	8%		10%
<b>ROL</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>13%</b>
New Zealand	0%	1%	1%	0%	2%
Nigeria	0%	2%	8%	0%	10%
<b>S / E / C</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>7%</b>
New Zealand	0%	2%	2%	0%	4%
Nigeria		0%	3%	0%	3%
<b>TRANS / RC</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>15%</b>
New Zealand	1%	6%	5%	0%	11%
Nigeria	0%	1%	3%	0%	4%
<b>WEL / UNEMP</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>17%</b>
New Zealand	0%	5%	4%	0%	9%
Nigeria	0%	1%	7%	0%	8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>126%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>200%</b>

The description from Table 12.9 does not show any disparity to the conclusion made earlier. Among all the 19 categories of analysis for the government political activities in New Zealand, the facilitative role and monitorial roles were the most portrayed. In Nigeria, on the other hand, the monitorial role was dominant among all the 21 themes featured. Nigerian media did not reflect electorates' voices through such type of articles as letters to the editors. The balance in the portrayal is seen in the adoption of these two roles by New Zealand newspapers as the opportunity is given to the electorates through the letters to the editor, and they also provided in-depth information through their news stories and features. The collaborative roles and the radical roles were not altogether neglected by New Zealand newspapers.

Subsequently, in table 12.10 and Figure 12.10 media roles also followed the same trend under the representative democracy. Nigerian newspapers' dominant role was the monitorial role while New Zealand media alternated between the facilitative role and the monitorial as their leading role. More involvement and depiction of other media roles in a democracy is expected from Nigerian media to meet up with the demand of becoming an established democracy.

**FIGURE 12.9 COMPARING MEDIA ROLES ON GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**





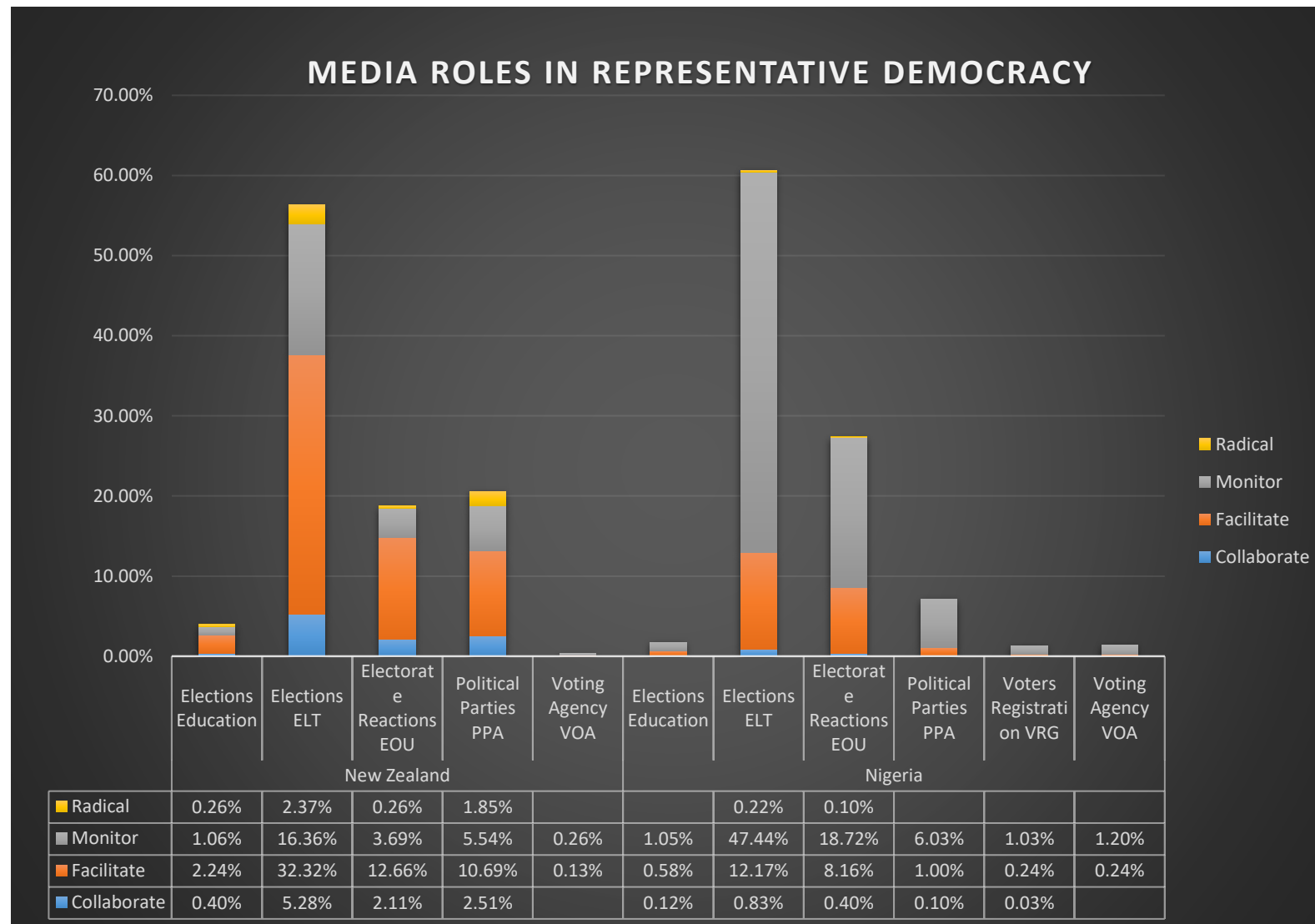


**TABLE 12.10 COMPARING MEDIA ROLES IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.**

Sum of Representative Democracy Percentages	Column Labels ▾		
Row Labels ▾	New Zealand	Nigeria	Grand Total
<b>▢ Elections Education</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>6%</b>
Collaborate	0%	0%	1%
Facilitate	2%	1%	3%
Monitor	1%	1%	2%
Radical	0%		0%
<b>▢ Elections ELT</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>117%</b>
Collaborate	5%	1%	6%
Facilitate	32%	12%	44%
Monitor	16%	47%	64%
Radical	2%	0%	3%
<b>▢ Electorate Reactions EOU</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>46%</b>
Collaborate	2%	0%	3%
Facilitate	13%	8%	21%
Monitor	4%	19%	22%
Radical	0%	0%	0%
<b>▢ Political Parties PPA</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>28%</b>
Collaborate	3%	0%	3%
Facilitate	11%	1%	12%
Monitor	6%	6%	12%
Radical	2%		2%
<b>▢ Voters Registration VRG</b>		<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>
Collaborate		0%	0%
Facilitate		0%	0%
Monitor		1%	1%
<b>▢ Voting Agency VOA</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>
Facilitate	0%	0%	0%
Monitor	0%	1%	1%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>200%</b>



FIGURE 12.10 COMPARING MEDIA ROLES IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.



### **12.10 COMPARING THE RESPONSES TO THE THEMES UNDER JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES, PROCESSES, AND CHALLENGES.**

This study considers it justifiable to compare the qualitative data in the form of responses to the in-depth interviews by Nigerian and New Zealand journalists. The responses reflect the similarities and differences discovered.

### **12.11 COMPARING POLITICAL NEWS PROCESSES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA**

The responses from New Zealand and Nigerian journalists shared fundamental news values and approach to newsgathering. They listed these as, news with a broad appeal, oddity, and that can sell the newspapers. However, some of the differences are the fact that Nigerian journalists emphasised the necessity of determination for quality news gathering and versatility with their sources. Other variations in the news processes were that New Zealand journalists identified some incidents that were pivotal to political news during the 2014 election such as Dotcom, Nicky Hager's book *Dirty Politics* (see section 8.2.1). Meanwhile, Nigerian journalists reiterated the fact that federalism plays a significant role in news selection (see section 10.2.2).

### **12.12 POLITICAL NEWS SOURCES IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA**

Interestingly, the responses to the types of sources used by each country from the interviews also confirm the findings from the content analysis data. Similarly, both countries cited all the six types of sources analysed. The differences are that Nigerian journalists view the government, political parties, and politicians as more important sources for them than citizens. Alternatively, New Zealand journalists also cited government and political parties but did not undermine or relegate the use and importance of the citizens as sources. Some of the reasons given by Nigerian journalists are that citizens are not respectful to journalists and the profession, second, they cannot afford to purchase a copy of the newspaper, third, they are generally not interested in politics or challenging the politicians, and they are often biased and ethnic in their judgment which do not allow for an objective reaction (See sections 10.5.1, 10.5.2, 10.6.1 & 10.6.2).

The government also as sources are not always truthful, can sometimes peddle falsehood for selfish gains. They also do not often own up to their views publicly. Therefore,

Nigerian journalists must often verify this source, with a thorough investigation before citing them (See sections 10.3.1 & 10.3.2). The means of feedback to the electorates are too narrow and not well publicised.

New Zealand journalists are different because there is a congenial relationship, although also very formal between them and the Government and political parties (See sections 8.3.1 & 8.3.2,). Moreover, they even give lots of room to their citizen's views and publish such in their newspapers (See sections 8.4.1 & 8.4.3). There is the adoption of the technological innovation trend through a functioning newspapers' website. New Zealand media uses this to decide the direction of their political news articles to favour the demands of the electorates. Their reportage of political news is democratic and reflects the demands of a stable democracy.

### **12.13 EDITORS ROLES IN POLITICAL NEWS**

Newspapers' political editors' roles were the same in both New Zealand and Nigeria. For example, New Zealand editors oversaw the other members of the team that is the journalists and acts the leading gatekeeper for the news (See 8.2.2 & 10.7.1).

Nonetheless, the differences are that New Zealand editors are in the same physical space as the government and politicians (See section 8.2.2) while Nigerian editors are not. Nigerian political editors have their offices in the most cosmopolitan city, Lagos, (See section 10.8.1). This distance creates some challenges for their duties. They are unable to verify some news from the government source immediately. Moreover, the location of the newspaper office is intended to target resources needed for production and circulation numbers of the newspapers. It is deduced that while New Zealand political team target the accuracy of their editorial content, Nigerian newspapers are concerned with the commercial revenue.

### **12.14 CHALLENGES OF EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS IN NEW ZEALAND AND NIGERIA.**

Challenges were inevitable in the performance of the roles of both political journalists and editors. Some similarities of this were evident in the descriptions from both countries. Human resources appear to be a challenge both countries face while gathering news during an election. They also seem to deal with this challenge in the same way by reassigning journalists from other beats to help (See sections 8.5.4 & 10.8.5). Also, dealing

with their political parties as sources was also another form of challenge, they both face (See sections 8.5.2 & 10.8.4). The lists of the problems of each country are, in New Zealand for example, deciding to publish or not selected favourite political stories (See section 8.5.1). Secondly, the social media or newspaper website as a menace, imbalance coverage, other media, or competitors (See sections 8.5.1 & 8.5.5).

Among Nigerian journalists and editors, the series of typical challenges are lack of digital technology, welfare such as regular salary and job insurance, security, and threats to life from political parties and politicians, effects from the country's economic recession and newspaper organisation's pressure (See sections 10.8.1, 10.8.2, 10.8.3, 10.8.6 & 10.8.7).

These series of differences in challenges, listed for each country are mutually exclusive. Each country appears to have a different set of problems that are relatable to their levels of democracy and economy. For example, New Zealand editors stated emphatically that they did not experience any form of denial of rights and privileges from the fact that their newspaper is commercialised (See sections 8.5.5 & 8.5.6). There were pressures from the papers, society at large, political parties and government on Nigerian newspapers which aim at influencing their portrayal of political issues.

#### **12.15 COMPARING SOURCES OF AND THE INFLUENCE OF FUNDING.**

Media commercialisation denotes the various ways profit maximisation is enhanced while conducting the business of news making (Hardy, 2014b). These sources have a direct influence on what is portrayed or not, as news (Papathanassopoulos, 1999). The journalists and editors interviewed also expressed their views about this concept. To an extent, the newspapers in both countries agree to the fact that they were established to make profit, and political news plays a considerable role in the profit margin. They also both agree that political news making costs money which the media organisations provide (See sections 9.2.1 & 11.5.4). Also, newspaper subscriptions are also used to finance the newspapers (See sections 9.2.2 & 11.3).

However, the disparity comes in some other sources of funding which are outside the organisation. From New Zealand journalists and editors' views, a particular budget was put in place for NZA to create an incentive for boosting the image of the newspaper (See section 9.2.1). There was an absolute rejection of any form of influence from inducement in any way for the journalists (See section 9.3), but the journalists generally accept

sponsorships from the government and corporate organisations in the discharge of their duties (See section 9.5). They confirm that there is a balance of power in the way they reflect their sponsors cum other participants in political discourse.

On the other hand, Nigerian journalists mentioned that inducements are often used to influence political journalists by politicians and political parties (See section 11.5.1). There were various arguments for and against the extent of its effects on news coverage and presentation. They also claim there are ways to control such effects (See section 11.5.3). There is sometimes a negative repercussion in the form of physical harm or loss of job to anyone discovered to have been induced (See section 11.5.2).

The concern about the unethical practice of collecting inducement is that it affects some issues relating to the effectiveness of democracy. More so, its spiral effects determine the structure and types of democratic distinction from an emerging media to an established one. The first factor is that inducement affects the framing of political discourse. Political news becomes an automatic commodity sold to the highest bidder and portrayal of news is not determined by news factors. The practice is tantamount to the newspapers not being able to become a public sphere where political discourse takes place justifiably, and democracy can thus progress. It is indeed a spiral of effects.

Moreover, there is a dislocation of power as the cultural industry; the media is viewed first as a commercial industry (McAllister, 2015). The organisation of the media product in Nigerian newspapers favours commercialisation more than their democratic roles. To, therefore, move from the levels of an emerging democracy to an established one, Nigerian newspapers must accommodate all the participants in democracy irrespective of their economic ability and ensure that all have one form of access or the other to their papers.

#### **12.16 ADVERTISEMENT ROLE AND REGULATION IN POLITICAL NEWS**

Newspapers content divide into two which are the editorial and advertorial. Political adverts usually feature prominently in election coverage (Meech, 2008). New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers attested to the claim of the use of political adverts in the coverage of the 2014 and the 2015 respective elections (See sections 9.4 & 11.2).

But the variance between the political adverts of newspapers in both countries are many. For New Zealand papers, most advertisements are in the form of direct personalised

means. There is also a restriction on the advertisement budgets of political parties and a regulated period closer to the election which is strictly adhered to (See section 9.4).

Nigerian newspapers have unrestricted use of political advertisements and advertorials which even leads to pagination increase (See sections 11.2 & 11.2.1). Although in theory, there are regulatory bodies like the NPC but they are not active (See sections 11.6 & 11.6.1). The political advertisement is influenced and influences Nigerian newspapers in their coverage of the election (See section 11.2.2). Notwithstanding, Nigerian newspapers engage in the form of self-censorship in deciding which political advertisements to publish or not. Such measures are evaluating its ethical basis from the press laws perspectives (See sections 11.6.1 & 11.6.2).

Political advertisements and advertorials in Nigeria only fall under the collaborative role of the media. It excludes the other three domains of media responsibility such as monitorial, facilitative and radical functions. Nigerian newspapers should endeavour to strengthen democracy by maximising space in such a way to benefit democracy all in society, not their advertisers.

#### **12.17 TRAINING AND EXPOSURES OF POLITICAL JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS.**

New Zealand journalists state that there is usually no additional or specialised on the job training organised for political journalists before or during their practice. However, NZB mentions that they do take on students in internships who are later employed by the organisation (See section 9.7). Nigerian journalists occasionally have in-house training by their media organisation and other Non-government organisations. These training are attended both within the country and outside. Be that as it may, there is no evidence of the direct negative influence of this training or their sponsors on Nigerian journalists' coverage of the election (See sections 11.7.1 & 11.7.2). Nigerian newspaper editors and journalists need more training as it affects professionalism which impacts the framing of political news in an election.

## **CHAPTER THIRTEEN: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

### **13.1 INTRODUCTION**

This thesis has examined the comparative portrayal of political news of commercialised newspapers, in the election year of an established (New Zealand) and emerging (Nigeria) democracy. The thesis uses two different research methods, examined four research questions, and discussed the analysed data. The methods were quantitative content analysis in which the content of political news was analysed using seven different content categories with different subsets. The content analysis answered research questions one and four. The in-depth qualitative interview engaged journalists and editors working for the commercialised newspapers. The interviews were used to answer research questions two and three. Chapters 6-12 discuss the data retrieved in the light of the research questions.

Moreover, the background descriptions of this study examined the definitive foundations of terms used and studied, such as media, media commercialisation, comparative study, emerging and established democracies. A historical rundown, from the perspective of key concepts, were undertaken in this study, include media competing narratives, history of newspapers and democracy generally representative democracy, challenges of political news in an election. Theories were also studied, which illustrated concepts such as critical political economy, framing, and public sphere, and media roles in a democracy.

This chapter, however, will discuss significant findings from this study that distinguishes it from others. It will also show the relationship between the research questions and findings, literature and the theories that were applied.

### **13.2 KEY FINDINGS OF THIS RESEARCH**

The content analysis carried out in this study, examined seven levels of analysis and different themes also emanated from the analysis of the in-depth interviews. Findings diverge between the newspapers of New Zealand and Nigeria. The four research questions studied discovered the following key findings.

### 13.3 THE LEVELS OF PORTRAYAL OF POLITICAL NEWS, DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES.

The analysis from the first level is the types of articles which shows that the news stories and letters to the editors from New Zealand share an almost equal percentage of 42.62 and 32.87 respectively (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). Judging from the full descriptions of these types of articles in chapter 6, letters to the editors reflected that New Zealand media places a high-level of allegiance to the citizens' diverse voices irrespective of affluence, position, or financial abilities. The finding implies that their democratic functions are given significant weight despite operating in an environment of the populist's media or populists challenge (Curran et al., 2009; Stuart, 2008). This practice can be traced back to the historical relationship between New Zealand media and their British descent. Also, the fact that New Zealand is an established democracy makes it easy to access varying developed countries mode of balancing power relations.

The data also revealed significant numbers of news stories were also written from the human perspective, sometimes approaching the so-called 'slow journalism' 'book-length journalism'. These focused-on issues germane and in the public interest before, during and after the 2014 September election (Ricketson, 2010; 2016). For example, Table 6.8 shows the features articles have length ranges more from up to ½ page till above 1 page. The driving force behind the public sphere is that it is a credible space within which the challenges of democracy in a modern state such as New Zealand could be addressed (Garnham, 2007). Of significance to these findings, is the fact that the public sphere is well utilised by the media and the electorates in New Zealand. The letters to the editors and the structure of the news stories suggest that there is an aura of freedom of expression, participatory politics, and deliberation in their sphere of representative democracy.

The process of gathering information for the newspaper articles, for example, the measure of online traffic and clicks on items of political reports by New Zealand media invariably affected patronage as confirmed by New Zealand editors of the newspapers analysed, who states that, one of the factors they consider in selecting news are:

*... News that will have a wide appeal and a big audience because it's a good story (NZA1).*

*... The last election (the 2014 election) it's not so much because of the commercialisation, but the way we can now measure audience (NZB1).*



In other words, New Zealand newspapers use their political news coverage as a 'two-edged sword'. One, to improve democracy by providing needed information to the electorates, also to generate money through subscriptions and readership.

On the other hand, in the Nigerian newspaper's data, news stories are the most common category of articles used to portray political news for the 2015 election. The number is significantly higher than other types of articles with 63.16 percentage (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1). The style of writing is 'fast and instantaneous' (Le Masurier, 2015) and has a hard news focus. It does not present an appeal to readers who are fast declining in their interest and patronage since Nigerian newspapers are "elite-owned textual commodities" (Newell, 2011, p. 27). Although information provided is a dominant sustenance of democracy, findings show that the hurried manner or style leaves little to be desired by the readers and the electorates (Aliagan, 2015).

There is a little attempt to draw in readers. One of the interview respondents among Nigerian journalists observed this disconnection. He did not see citizens as easily able to express their views in the mediated political debate:

*The level of exposure is such that people often see the media that it is for the elite and this is wrong. Most citizens don't walk into the newsroom and air their views (NGA1).*

The use of editorials and cartoons by both New Zealand (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1) and Nigerian media (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) was as a didactic weapon in their political sphere (Trimble et al., 2010). They are used to criticise the government and the general ills in society. These also challenge any form of misdemeanours on the parts of all the participants in a democracy (Danjoux, 2007). For example, Nigerian newspapers use the cartoons mostly on the theme of corruption and crime (Table 7.11). There are echoes here of the radical historical perspective in which the papers use this type of article to "challenge the social order" (Curran, 2002b, p. 148)

Advertising and advertorials were limited in use by New Zealand newspapers (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1) because of two leading factors. Findings reveal from the interview data that there were restrictions in the budget use of political parties in campaigning for the elections and there was also advertising censorship by the Electoral Commission (See section 9.4). These guidelines were strictly adhered to by the newspapers. Political

parties, therefore, seek other personalised means of soliciting for votes which reduce pressure to make money through political advertisements by newspapers, when it is closer to the election.

In Nigerian newspapers, political advertisements, and advertorials (Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) were the main means of generating money (Ekwujuru, 2015). The use is further evidenced in the length of most of these advertisements and advertorials with the majority having up to a full page (Tables 7.5 and 7.13). Some advertisement even made it to the front page of the newspapers (Table 7.6). The advertisements and advertorials were also published at times with disregard to ethical considerations concerning “negative or attacking advertisements” (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016,p.238).

Interviews data also confirms various comments from Nigerian journalists about the importance of political advertisement (Sections 11.2, 11.2.1 & 11.2.2). Emphasis was made on the commercial viability of the political advertisement and advertorials to their newspapers especially during the election. There were even increase in the pagination of the newspapers as the restrictions in place were not adhered to (Section 11.2.1).

Although the newspapers analysed were national in circulation, there are instances of preference for regionalism or sectionalism or even political party interests to sway the electorates (Ojo, 2003; Riaz, 2007). This theory implies that there is a preference for the financing of newspapers contents through political advertisement by Nigerian newspapers than the cultural products (news) itself (McAllister, 2015; McChesney, 2000b). There is, therefore, an imbalance in the power relations as voices of those who could not afford advertisements and advertorials are not heard, which invariably affects the democratic culture, thereby justifying the appellation of the emerging democracy.

Another level of analysis that was relevant to this study is the length of all the articles analysed; chapters five, six and seven discussed the significance. However, findings reveal that both New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers mostly used produced texts of up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a page length, 77.76 and 46.36 per cent respectively (Tables 6.4 & 7.12).

Nonetheless, the uniqueness of each use reflects within the type of articles. For New Zealand media, the letters to the editor were found to have the highest use of the quarter of a page (Table 6.8 and Figure 6.3). Typically, letters to the editors are traditionally short in length; its significance is in the number of representations it has among the electorates.

Each letter represents a voice in the democracy and where there are 1428 views represented in the sample, shows a large number of voices, given the opportunity to express themselves during an election (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001).

On the other hand, Nigerian newspapers privileged the news stories mostly of a size up to the  $\frac{1}{4}$  page (Table 7.13) which support the earlier discovery that news stories were written in the hard news style and inverted pyramid. These were also shorter in length (Plasser, 2005; Ricketson, 2010). New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers use of the length of articles when compared with the type of article, shows some of the priorities and values in the portrayal of political news (Boesman et al., 2017).

Also, about research question 1, specific features in the use of placement or position of articles analysed also influenced the social construction of reality of political discourse in New Zealand and Nigeria. One of such is that there is a near even spread in the use of the position of articles. The articles with longer length are mostly placed in the inside pages, while the articles with shorter length positioned in the more prominent positions such as the front and back (Tables 6.7 and 7.15A & B).

The practice by the media is to project the main article that will attract readers' attention to buy the newspapers, on the front page and there is a stark difference. Interview comments from a New Zealand editor reveal that this is often the goal of the political desk of the newspapers.

*I went through an exercise, of political news last year, all of the printing of **our first page, the stories that led the paper**. They might not seem very many to you, but they were about 30, they are all really strong good stories. When you say political stories, they are not about politicians, they tend to be about housing, about kids in welfare home, this is what we would classify as political stories. It's an impressive display (NZA1).*

In contrast, Nigerian newspapers prioritised advertising. Tables 7.16 and 7.17, compared the length of the articles with the position of articles in numbers and the percentage format. It leads to the conclusion that the advertisements appear to have benefited more from placements as it has the highest up to 1-page placement on the inside page. Table 12.4 further shows that the contrast between New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers' page; one provides evidence of the much greater focus in New Zealand on democratic functions and in Nigeria on the commercial.

Findings also show variation in the use of sources, accessed, and cited by both New Zealand media and Nigerian newspapers. Eight variants of participants in democracy were identified in each country. These present a strong representation and serve as reinforces of the news stories or other articles (Armstrong, 2004; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2009; Gans, 2003).

Data analysed reveals that citizens were given the most prominent portrayal of 50.47 per cent by New Zealand newspapers while reporting the 2014 election (Table 6.8 and Figure 6.5). These percentages were analysed mostly from news stories and letters to the editor (Table 6.9). The implication of this is that the variants and magnitude of the number of citizens used, add to the news articles' quality. The relationship between the citizens or newspaper readers and the newspapers is symbiotic (Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). The claim is also confirmed by one of New Zealand journalists who said:

*The only voice comes from public opinion polls, and there has been attention that the election coverage is based on what voters want to be covered. In the election, the voters are very much in the minds of journalists (NZA2).*

The newspapers provided the space, and the readers were available to engage with one another through the created space. This portrayal justifies the appellation for New Zealand as an established democracy in which a wide range of participants plays their roles (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004; Rudd et al., 2009; Sibley et al., 2011).

Other sources such as the government representative 21.08 per cent and the news agency 15.97 per cent have significant mention which gives a balancing effect on the way's newspaper articles were framed. The trend lends credence to an aspect of the critical political economy theory since it allows for the comparison of knowledge among societal forces (Meehan & Wasko, 2013; Mosco, 2009).

Nigerian newspapers Nonetheless, cited the government representatives most, 43.58 per cent in their framing of issues on government activities and representative democracy. Further investigations using the in-depth interviews reveal that Nigerian journalists defer more to government sources than others. One of the reasons for this is the federal system of government which emphasises focus on the federal government and the governments in each of the 36 states (Chazan, 1989).

*Everybody wants to know what is happening at the centre that goes a long way in determining what happens at the other arms of the government like the state, and*

*the local government. Most times even in the allocation of resources the centre takes 52%, so the remaining 48% goes to the states and the local governments. Even the media's attention is always in the centre (NGA3).*

Such thinking shows the relative weakness among Nigerian newspapers of populist media interpretation of the role of the journalist or cultural democracy (Curran, 2009). There was the predominance of view of a few instead of a desire to please the people. Rather, the government sources were the expert or elite sources used to authenticate political news portrayal (Freedman et al., 2007). The emphasis on government as sources gives a lopsided view of issues generated and discussed.

Nonetheless, there is a high level of underlying dissonance between the journalists and the government as sources. The government is often secretive and do not disclose unfavourable information which is often newsworthy to the journalists. Nigerian journalists often must use a reference to verify the other or even sometimes dispose of the information given (Sections 10.3.1, 10.3.2). The relationship between the media and government is maintained and remains vital to both parties, which confirms the application of the term mediated reflexivity (Davis, 2009).

However, other sources identified such as the political parties, politicians, corporate organisations were also given a significant level of portrayal as they were viewed to display relevant knowledge (Fraile & Iyengar, 2014). The references show that Nigerian newspapers strived during the 2015 election coverage to portray a wide range of participants in the democratic process.

New Zealand newspapers cited the citizens mostly under the news stories and letters to the editors, (Table 6.9). These citations of sources have been analysed as both democratic and commercial (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001), whereas, their Nigerian counterpart recorded the highest level of usage of citizens with the opinion articles (Table 7.19). These opinion articles as noticed by the researcher were lengthy with the range from 00- 1/2 page and others, more (Tables 7.16 & 7.17). The opinion articles in Nigerian newspapers were also written by members of a seasoned elite group whose names repeatedly occur in the papers. This supports the claims that the newspapers use opinions articles as a 'commodity' to attract readers and it also represents a 'cult of individuals' (Eisenstein, 1983; McNair, 2008).

Furthermore, interview data confirms this as journalists' state that most columnists start as not being the staff of the newspaper organisation and they become very 'useful'.

*Some are staff; some are not. Some people after a while can become staff. They become very resourceful, attend editorial meetings. You are not paid for the article but as staff. Others come from outside. They are like honorary, editorial board members who write their opinion. They write out of their interest. It's free for everybody (NGA1).*

They also see writing as a paid employment as:

*Some columns are seasonal may be for a year or there may be permanent columns which have been run for years. Yes, they pay them (NGC 1).*

The statement shows the influence of the commercial nature of the transaction between newspapers and the columnists on the portrayal of political news to a great extent in Nigerian newspapers. The business decision making, therefore, differs from that of New Zealand newspapers: in the Nigeria sample, the business transaction involves bringing in outside contributions from an elite group; in New Zealand, the transaction is in providing a wide range of citizens' space for their voices in the newspaper to sell more copies.

### **13.4 PORTRAYALS OF GOVERNMENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**

Chapter two and three of the thesis vividly describe the history of democracy and newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria. It was necessary to understand the political environment the newspapers of the two countries operate. Such understanding helps the researcher to analyse and compare data related to research questions one and four. Findings from the data analysis in chapters six and seven the comparative chapter twelve show a lengthy array of government activities that were represented during the period of the election. These were captured in a detailed manner, measured with a simple percentile, and described in descending order, from New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers. Government political activities were explained in chapter five as the aspects of the political news that focus on actions around policies, statements, parliamentary meetings which were a total of twenty-one in all.

Similarly, New Zealand newspapers examined nineteen types of government political activities (Tables 6.10 and Figure 6.5A & B). From the newspaper contents analysed, the inauguration of the government and communication which include mostly the telecommunication infrastructure were not covered. There was no report on the process

of handover because the National government who were in government before the 2014 September 20th election, were voted in again. Nor was there any issue on communication as it did not feature as generating public discourse and media attention during the days sampled.

The essence of examining alternative media history is to trace cultural influence on the means of communication. New Zealand newspapers reflections of government political activities show a link between the liberal or pluralists view and the ability for the press to play their watchdog role in politics (Louw, 2005; Schultz, 1998). Bollen (1993) confirms this point when he states that “the people of a country have the freedom to express a variety of political opinions in any media” as one of the measures of liberal democracy (Bollen, 1993, pp. 1208-1209). The descriptions of the government political activities can be said to spread evenly and the press freely initiated discussions through the different types of articles used. However, liberal bias is also evident as there were no obvious depicting of marginalised groups within New Zealand such as the Maoris, the teeming populations of immigrants and others. Domke (1999) and other scholars in their analysis of media reports on three US presidential elections confirmed bias in news coverage by liberal media. Their research further shows other studies that prove bias reporting of the media during elections (Domke et al., 1999).

Nigerian newspapers featured 21 issues under government political activities (Table 7.18 and Figure 7.5). One of the distinctions between a developed country and developing one is the role of the government in the provision of infrastructures needed to improve the economy (Krueger, 1990). The government activity that reflects the need to deal with this lack of development in Nigeria was the focus on power, electricity, and petroleum. The description of data in chapter seven has explained the reasons for this portrayal. But it is also necessary to state that, the newspapers justify their role in democracy by providing adequate information on the societal challenge, especially during the period of election.

In the same vein, the historical purview of democracy and antecedent of the newspapers in Nigeria, confirm a level on instability within the government structures such as the executive arms, the legislature, and the judiciary in the past (Ogowewo, 2000,2005; Ogundiya, 2010). The trend is often re-enacted during elections as portrayed in the analysed data which show issues such as the rule of law and government bureaucratic activities were pronounced (See Table 7.18).

Moreover, in sources cited and types of articles used, the framing of political discourse also reflects some levels of bias. The government voice is predominantly louder in all the issues discussed than the other sources in democracy. The news stories are also used more than different types of articles, again emphasising the fragmented and descriptive approach to reporting.

### **13.5 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Another domain of analysis was that of the subsets under the category of representative democracy. These subsets originated in Alex de Tocqueville's study on democracy which encompasses the geographical environment, the civil society, and the political institutions (Lane & Ersson, 2003). This study conceptualised these into elections, elections education, and electorate reactions after the elections, political parties, voters' registration and voting agency. The election is the central point among these subsets (Twomey, 2013). It is the heart of the practice of representative democracy since it allows for participation, which ensures plurality (Carreira et al., 2016). The other elements of representative democracy which are the voters, political parties, voting agencies are likewise essential (Kölln et al., 2015; Le Maux, 2009).

However, the newspaper role unifies these different dimensions of representative democracy. It provides the public sphere within which information is engaged with and exchanged among these stakeholders (Khan1, 2014). New Zealand and Nigerian newspapers justified their roles in the portrayal of this aspect of political news (Table 6.11 & Figure 6.6, Table 7.19 & Figure 7.6). The newspapers effectively carried out the surveillance functions in both countries by providing relevant and current insights into the 2014 September 29th election in New Zealand and the 2015 March 28<sup>th</sup> election in Nigeria (Chandler & Munday, 2016).

But differences are seen in the issues of concerns within the template of electorate reactions. In New Zealand, there was excitement about the winner and no crisis ensued, because the electorate were forward-looking. This fact also influences other findings of the levels of the portrayal of political news in their 2014 election. There was less need for electoral education under the representative democracy as most citizens know the importance of the election. The voting agency also was less pronounced in their activities. The act further confirms the appellation of an established democracy is entirely appropriate for New Zealand (Krommendijk, 2015; Miller, 2015).



Whereas in Nigeria, there were some levels of agitations about the conduct of the elections (Fleming, 2015; Kimenyi, 2015; Oke, 2015; Olowojolu, 2016; Oni et al., 2014). There was also instances of elections education which centred mostly on the registration of voters and appropriate comportment during the election. The occurrences further confirm the assertions of an emerging democracy.

### **13.6 MEDIA ROLES**

Media roles are discussed under the normative theory of the press regarding the forms of the portrayal of political news (Christians et al., 2009). These are the monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical roles. These media roles are also supported when compared with the alternative media narratives which analyse the expectations from the media in any democracy (Curran et al., 2009).

Therefore, (Tables 6.12, 7.20 & 12.10, Figures 6.7, 7.7 & 12.8), show the percentile descriptions for the four media roles examined. The monitorial role was dominant in both countries. The monitorial function which was played by the newspapers in both countries also confirms their part in fulfilling their democratic political duties and the social responsibility role in democracy. This is because the papers present a truthful account of each day's political events (Dryzek, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Pennock, 2015).

However, the monitorial role is more pronounced in Nigerian newspapers than in New Zealand. The implication for this is that it depicts New Zealand as a more liberal democracy because it creates more opportunity for the collaborative and facilitative roles than their Nigerian counterpart. There is more plurality, engagement, and more variations in the voices, which also suggested that the populist interpretation and the libertarian perspectives were visible (Macedo, 1999). This multiplicity of roles, albeit in varying proportions shows New Zealand media as more adaptive to their democratic roles than Nigerian press and their democracy is more discursive (Chambers, 2009; Chambers, 2003; Elster, 1998).

Moreover, the radical role although also limited in New Zealand newspapers portrayal at 3.36 percentage, is near extinct in the 'Nigerian's at 0.48 per cent. The art of establishing a country as a nation is often played out in the fulfilment of the radical role of the media (Christians et al., 2009; Curran, 2002b,2009). Where Nigerian newspapers in their portrayal miss out on this, they, therefore, miss out on the opportunity of becoming an established voice helping to forge an established democracy. The civil society that should

be active were not as vocal as expected during the 2015 election, though they had been in the past military regimes (Olukotun, 2002; Olukoyun, 2004). Both countries media are urged to improve on their radical role.

### **13.7 INFLUENCE OF NEWS PROCESSES AND CHALLENGES ON FRAMING OF POLITICAL NEWS**

The second research question in the thesis is concerned with the media practices and challenges journalists and editors face during the discharge of their duties. Two of the theories used for this study come into play in the discussion of the interview data, which was used to evaluate the research question two. These are the framing and social construction of reality and the public sphere.

First, New Zealand and Nigerian journalists and editors emphasised the fact that they have a routine they follow daily. They also decide what is portrayed as political news through the use of individual frames which are agreed by news elements (Gavin, 2014; Phillips, 2014). Nonetheless, New Zealand newspapers distinguished their reporting by also considering some peculiar characteristics such as parties' policies, newspapers website traffic. Meanwhile, the Nigerian press focuses more on the federal government than the other two tiers of government before selecting or framing their political news.

Another influence on framing of the portrayal of political news is the political editor's role which is a form of mediation (McQuail, 2010). They also act as the gatekeepers in the final selection of news (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). In New Zealand, they work to protect the journalists under them from any form of threats. They are a support mechanism to their counterparts on the field (Nijholt et al., 2014). While, in Nigeria, they act on behalf of the newspaper organisation in assessing the truthfulness of a news report received from their sources, which are the politicians and sometimes the political field journalists. They are the final arbiters of the ethics of the journalistic practice in news reporting (Lindner, 2017).

In the same vein, in response to research question two, interview data depicts that the public sphere represented by New Zealand newspapers' reports appears more encompassing as it accommodates both electorates, political parties, and government. The journalists and editors confirm how they provide an avenue for the diverse voices to be heard. This perspective is confirmed by the content analysis data from chapters 6 and

12. This suggests their democratic commitment to balance political news portrayal in an established democracy.

In contrast, Nigerian newspapers emphasise the government first, politicians next before the citizen voice are heard in their news reports. There is also no credible independence as expected in the media and politician relationship, rather more of a parasitic than symbiotic relationship (see section 10.3.2). Other indices are that the level of exposure of the electorates affects their interest in political discourse in newspapers and the economic inequalities which makes newspaper copies inaccessible to some (Aliagan, 2015; Balogun, 2013).

Challenges were also evident from the analysed interview data. The lack of balance in political reports in Nigerian newspapers, for example, can be said to reflect the re-feudalisation of the public sphere due to the influence of commercialisation (Duelund, 2010; Fairclough, 1995). More portrayal regarding length, citation as sources and types of articles were given to the government than the citizens (See Tables 7.13, & 7.17). New Zealand dominant challenge was about technological determinism narrative, in the form of the news website that thinned the line between traditional news media functions and the new media (Buchanan, 2013). Also, the user-generated comments (UGC) has its downsides as noted in a study by (Brost, 2013). It further confirms the fact that the media is technologically sensitive (Deuze, 2012).

### **13.8 CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY, FUNDING AND POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT**

The third research question in the thesis aligns most with the critical political economy (CPE) theory. The recurrent theme while analysing the interviews responses is that of power structure between the media and other intervening variables in society (Hardy, 2014a,b). There appears to be a struggle between who controls the media and with what means. The prominent influence is seen in the form of financing for the media since CPE sees it as affecting the perception and consumption of media cultural products, in this regard political news (McAllister, 2015).

Excerpts from New Zealand journalists and editors depicts this subtle power struggle between them and the government or political parties. The latter influence news by utilising their role as the source, through well-structured spins and news sites, which often competes with the traditional news sites and are targeted directly by the electorates (Espírito Santo & Costa, 2016). The trend generates an imbalance in the portrayal of

news, although the newspapers handle this change with a form of mediated reflexivity as discussed earlier (Davis, 2009). Also, the media organisation though seemingly aloof influences portrayal by financing high tech political programmes during the election (see 9.2.1). The fact that they operate as conglomerates help tilt the power struggle in their favour. The media organisations in New Zealand do not exert direct pressures on their journalists and editors as they are well structured and established enough to withstand political and financial burdens (see section 9.2.1).

There was also not much of the influence of financing from political parties through patronage with advertisements, advertorials, or monetary inducements. But sponsorships are corporately present in the form of flights tickets. However, the effect of sponsorships on political news portrayal is difficult to measure (McDonald, 1991).

From Nigerian political journalists and editors, specific factors are responsible for the side-lined portrayal of news. The historical narration in Nigeria depicts a country divided into two: the government and the governed. With the antecedent of militarism still dominant in the minds of most citizens, there is no full trust in democratic governance. The various successive governments have been riddled with widespread corruption and mismanagement of public funding (Akanbi, 2004; Dike, 2005; Egbewole & Imam, 2015; Fox, 2014; Ogundiya, 2009). The newspapers have not taken on their radical role in recent years, as shown earlier.

Nigerian newspapers' problems are further compounded by the fact that most are owned by sole proprietors motivated by profit. They have turned the cultural product of news into a solely commercial product which invariably affects its democratic use (Adesoji & Hahn, 2011; Adesoji & Alimi, 2012). Political news is replaced with advertisement and advertorials.

More disheartening is the fact that the journalists and editors have also seen their profession not as a social duty to their society but a meal ticket. Such unethical acts as inducements with money, brown envelope is pronounced and practised (See section 11.5.) (Ekeanyanwu, 2012; Nwabueze, 2010). Democratic practice is subdued under commercialisation for monetary and selfish gains (Olukoyun, 2004).

### **13.9 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has enumerated the findings from the thesis and justified the use of the theories adopted. It has further shown the similarities, and differences in the portrayal of news between New Zealand and Nigerian commercialised newspapers. Obvious examples and adjustment can be made by the media of each country. Some of these suggestions are made in chapter fourteen of this thesis. Also, the conclusions in this study are also enumerated in the next chapter with suggestions for further study and the limitations of the study.

## **CHAPTER FOURTEEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **14.1 INTRODUCTION**

The thesis has examined media commercialisation in one emerging and one established democracy by analysing newspapers from New Zealand and Nigeria. The thesis formulated four research questions and adopted two methodologies to answer them. This chapter concludes the thesis, and it will include a summary of the objectives of the research, the background to the study and the methodologies used. The findings from the data, the limitations and recommendations for other researches are discussed.

Chapter one gave the background description and justification for this study. It also introduced us to the meanings of some of the concepts used in the title of the thesis. The chapter includes the research gap filled by this study, the statement of the problem and a detailed description of comparative media research. The chapter further enumerated five research objectives and supported them with four research questions:

**(1.) What are the levels of portrayal given to issues relating to representational democracy and political activities as reflected in the political columns of New Zealand and Nigerian's commercialised newspapers?**

**(2.) What are the media practices and challenges among political journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria?**

**(3.) What are the sources of funding for political news, and the influence of sponsorships, training, and incentives or inducements on the process of political news coverage and dissemination?**

**(4.) What are the differences and similarities in the portrayal of issues relating to representational democracy and government political activities?**

Chapter two was based on contextual historical review into terms that featured predominantly explaining them from different scholars' perspective about the study. These terms such as the media, mass media, mass communication, explains their relationship use, specifically, if we are to have communication within a democratic setting, these three concepts will be applicable. Next is dimensions of mass media history, the history of printing and newspapers and competing media history, which provided

foregrounding information. The discussion created a guideline for the history of each country's newspaper.

Chapter three focused on the term democracy, representational democracy, public sphere theory, normative theory and the political history of New Zealand and Nigeria. The chapter also discussed the terms established and emerging democracy and factors used for the derivation of such usage. The theory of public sphere was critically analysed alongside its features and functioning in the digital sphere. The theory explained how the newspaper role is justified in a democracy as it provides an avenue for discussion and deliberation and was established with justification from data in later chapters. The normative theory of the media discusses the four media roles such as monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical roles were used to reflect media roles in a democracy.

Chapter four treated the third theory used in the thesis which is the critical political economy. It discusses the theory in line with the concepts of media commercialisation, media products and public interests, political advertising, newspaper ownership and professionalism and challenges in election coverage by newspapers journalists and editors. Critical political economy portrays the conflicts between news as a cultural and commercial product and also shows the power relations between the producers of media content.

Chapter five of the thesis shows the methodology of the study. The methods consist of quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. The justification was made for the adoption of these methods as they were found appropriate for investigating the focus of the thesis. The content analysis focused on the quantifiable amount of newspaper contents from both countries (See Tables 5.6 & 5.7) which is highly representative of the levels of portrayals of political news of the elections examined. The interviews content is on the processes and challenges of generating the content and other power relationships with the media and their influences. These are the descriptive and detailed narration of each interviewee's experience about political reporting.

Chapters six and seven were used to answer research question 1 which describes the content or the portrayal of political news. Chapter six focused on New Zealand while chapter seven concentrated on Nigeria. The structure for the sections was the same, but

the data and the description were peculiar to each country's findings. Seven levels of analysis were used to describe the portrayal of political news for each country in the chapters.

For New Zealand, the news stories were the most common type of articles but closely followed by the letters to the editors. The citizens were also the most cited news sources across all the types of items, and the facilitative roles were predominant over the others. The content analysis data were a form of validation of the term established democracy because of the large engagements of all the stakeholders in democracy. In Nigerian newspapers, the news stories were higher in quantity than other types of articles, and the government's voice was also louder. The monitorial role was prevalent more than the other types of media roles in a democracy

Chapters eight and nine address research question two and follow the same pattern as the previous two chapters. Chapter eight focused on New Zealand journalists and editors' in-depth interviews excerpts on the processes and challenges of portraying political news. Chapter nine was also concerned with the same question but for Nigeria. There was, however, variation in the sub-themes used for the analysis. These were formulated to reflect each country's data. Findings reveal that the challenges differ for each country. While New Zealand journalists face issues such as influences of the new media, high demand for reflections of populists' views, Nigerian journalists are burdened with threats to life, lack of security, the disinterest of the electorates and manipulative tendencies from politicians.

Chapters ten and eleven answered research question three. The focus was on the influence of funding on the portrayal of political news. Chapter ten showed that New Zealand newspapers benefit financially from the fact that their media organisation is a conglomerate. The media organisation also provides necessary incentives to political journalists and editors while covering news in an election year. Political adverts and advertorials do not influence the portrayal of political communication in their election year because of effective regulations and sanctions. Although sponsorships are corporately received by the newspapers organisations in New Zealand and benefited the journalists and editors, they confirm its lack of direct influence on political news. Challenges also abound in the form of the presence of the newspapers websites and other news websites obscuring the line of editors and journalists' traditional gatekeeping roles.



Nigerian newspapers enjoy patronage from political parties and government through political advertisements and advertorials. This patronage affects the framing of political editorial news as these are sometimes deleted for advertisements and advertorials that generate more funding. Moreover, only self-censorship on political advertisements is practised by the media organisation, as the government-owned regulatory bodies are ineffective. The journalists and editors are induced with money to influence portrayal which they sometimes collect but claim it does not affect their ethical responsibilities. There was no evidence of sponsorships, but non-governmental and international democratic organisations support training of journalists and editors during the election. There also challenges with the security of political newsmakers as there have been instances of attack in the past.

Chapter twelve bases on research question four which offers a comparison of the similarities and differences between the portrayals from both countries studied. Some of the similarities are in the use of news stories more than all other types of articles. The length of most items is also the same at 00- up to 1/4 page. The media structures in both countries also have an established news routine they follow in covering political news. The comparisons of the two countries show an accurate perception of the media roles in an election.

However, differences can be seen in the types of articles and length. While New Zealand articles are more of letters to the editors, Nigeria's were more of news stories. The sources most cited are the citizens of New Zealand and the government of Nigeria. The comparisons show different reactions and portrayal of news in an election year and the underlying reasons.

Chapter thirteen describes all the findings to the research questions and relates them to the histories of the media in chapter two and the theories in chapters three and four.

## **14.2 SUMMARY**

The importance of the media in a democracy has been emphasised all through this study. Sometimes this is expressed as a mediator, surveillance, watchdog, fourth estate (Carey, 2001; Chandler & Munday, 2016; Curran, 2011; Gentzkow et al., 2006; Gingras, 2012; Graber, 2003; Hampton, 2010; Harber, 2009). The mediator role is particularly crucial for representative democracy but also supported by all other functions.

It is a fact that the media is also often faced with various challenges while conducting their day to day activities aimed at favouring democracy. These as noted by some scholars as involving financing of the media, distinguishing between the cultural purpose and the commercial benefits of the press, power relations between media practitioners and sources of news (Bagdikian, 2014; McChesney, 2015; Meehan & Wasko, 2013).

However, another central theme of this study is the comparative measure, which follows some other studies on comparing media processes of countries (Charles, 2013; Hallin & Mancini, 2004) and others. This study fills a research gap because it is conducted between an established democracy and an emerging democracy. The salient focus formed from ascertaining the nature of or levels of portrayal of political news during an election year in the two types of democracies. The frames used were government political activities and representative democracy.

The study was able to show that political news portrayal in an election in New Zealand, although favours their established democracy, is also prone to some levels of influences. These ranges from commercialisation, political power relations, technological innovations, the preponderance of the populists' view of the electorates, sponsorships among other factors discussed. Nevertheless, the newspaper fulfils their democratic roles in the area of monitorial and facilitative functions, and collaborative roles, but not so much the radical. The journalists and editors are also able to control the balance of power with a respectful distance from the politicians. There is also a reflection of the adoption of the various traditions of press narratives reflected in the process of news gathering and portrayal of political news in their political sphere. Newspaper organisation supports by providing both incentives, salaries, and particular budget to enable reporting of the election, more effectively in New Zealand.

But, the portrayal of political news in Nigerian newspapers reflects a high influence from the commercialisation of the papers. These effects are mostly felt in the type of articles used in portraying political news especially political advertising and advertorials. The Nigerian press considers themselves fortunate to have political advertisements and advertorials. There is also an imbalance of portrayal as the democratic role of the newspapers is slanted mostly towards the monitorial roles, while the facilitative and collaborative roles significantly reduce, the radical role is near extinction. Other indications of the preference for the commercial role of the newspapers over their

cultural duties is seen in the influence of funding. The portrayal reflects the yielding of the media workers to inducement which is rampant during an election from politicians who wants to privatise the liberal public sphere for their selfish gain. Newspapers' sole proprietors are negligent of providing basic salaries or needed incentives like adequate security to journalists and editors while covering political news during an election.

### **14.3 CONCLUSION**

Specific findings stand out which form the conclusion of this study.

1. One of the main historical cum theoretical underpinning of the thesis in the adoption of the description of the advent of newspapers and the historical uses in the form of alternative traditions. These histories extracted from the perspective of British influence who invariably are also the colonial progenitors of New Zealand and Nigeria (Briggs & Burke, 2005,2009a; Hampton, 2010). The histories of democracy cum the history of newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria (Chapters 2 & 3) show that the advent of newspapers was along political lines. The analysis of the levels of their portrayal and the performance of the commercialised newspapers in democracy, examines measures of the seven competing narratives found six of which are the liberal/pluralists model, cultural democracy, libertarian interpretation, anthropological/nation's identity, radical challenge, technological determinism reflected in both countries (Curran, 2002a,b,2009,2011; Curran et al., 2009). But New Zealand is adjudged more democratic as their portrayal shows these competitive trends more than from Nigerian newspapers.

2. Media roles in a democracy were analysed under monitorial, facilitative, collaborative, and radical roles reveal varying levels of applications (Christians et al., 2009; Graber, 2003). From the historical review of newspapers generally, to the specific histories of New Zealand and Nigeria, and the description of political trends in each country, the theories and the data analysed all supported the fact that newspapers in both countries play significant roles. The various interpretation includes the traditional surveillance roles of providing information, watchdog role, and gatekeeping, educating the electorates' means of deliberation and at the same time generate finance for the media organisation, critiquing and advocating positions. New Zealand media appears more democratic in balance of their facilitative and the monitorial roles. Nigerian media focus was more on their monitorial roles far above other roles. The collaborative role and radical roles were at the lower level of portrayal in both countries with the radical roles

as the least. The radical role in each media which depicts a new nation from the alternative media tradition was significantly lacking in both countries' newspapers portrayals. However, the levels or quality of this roles vary from one country or democracy to the other depending on the structure of government, newspapers practitioner's adherence and interpretations of the ethics of their profession among other factors.

3. Different levels of portrayal were revealed in the content analysis of newspaper articles on the political news during the 2014 September 20<sup>th</sup> New Zealand general election and the March 28<sup>th</sup> Nigerian Presidential election. These levels were described with the use of percentages to represent the various types of articles, length of articles, sources of articles, placement of articles, government political activities, representative democracy, and media roles in a democracy. These types of articles reflect ten different articles that were used by the media in the countries examined to portray political news during their elections. For example, the category news stories, has a predominant percentage from the analysed newspapers of both countries. The letters to the editors were also used, but these had a higher percentage in New Zealand than Nigerian newspapers. Editorials, and cartoons although with different percentage totals, both performed the radical role of the press in each of the democracies examined. Others were supplements, features, which were also used to depict an in-depth portrayal of political news from both countries. Photo news and opinion articles also reflect different discourse strategies from each country. Lastly, advertisements and advertorials both perform the same functions of generating finance for their newspapers. But there is a staggering difference in the numbers featured between the established democracy, New Zealand and the emerging democracy, Nigeria. The description shows that there were underlying reasons for the levels of portrayal in each of the countries examined.

4. Journalists and editors in New Zealand and Nigeria have a routine for political news processes in an election year which does not differ much from each other. They both have a penchant for accommodating views from the government sources primarily, but, New Zealand newspapers often balance these views with those of the electorates' more than Nigerian media.

5. New Zealand media embraces the use of new technologies such as newspapers websites, polling of views of voters on election's candidates and these affect their

portrayal of political news. However, Nigerian media though most have an online version of their newspapers, do not correlate the link between the readers of their hard copies and the traffic on their website.

6. Newspapers also featured prominently in their role as the public sphere or discursive space for the participants in democracy, although, the level of use is more accommodative of varied views in New Zealand than in Nigeria. Nigerians and even the journalists and editors view newspapers as more elitist than other media such as television and radio which are open and accessible to them.

7. There are obvious challenges such as lack of enough human resources concerning personnel during the process of covering election by both countries, which affects their framing of political news. Nonetheless, there are challenges in New Zealand causing boundary between the traditional newspapers and the online ones to fade regarding their gatekeeping roles. There is the practice of convergence of both forms of their newspapers. Nigerian media have challenges with lack of adequate exposures of journalists and editors to technological gadgets that could improve their practice.

8. Political advertisements and advertorials are well controlled in New Zealand media and do not influence the framing of political news due to stringent regulated duration and budgets. These rules are adhered to by the newspapers, and the political parties and other stakeholders. More personal means of communication like letters, email, town halls meetings are used for advertising. Nigerian newspapers enjoy large patronage from both governments, political parties, corporates organisations who invest heavily in political advertisements and advertorials. These often affect the framing and portrayal of political news as news articles are sometimes deleted and replaced by advertisements and advertorials. Moreover, there is the practice of attacking advertisements. The regulating bodies which are the APCON and Press Council were referred to as inefficient due to government's influence against opposition parties in an election year. This practice affects the power relations as political influence belongs to those with the financial means, and it is mostly unchallenged (Cunningham et al., 2015; Hardy, 2014a; McAllister, 2015).

9. Editors and journalists in New Zealand follow the ethical guidelines of their profession, in the discussion of their practice, as they see any deviation as an aberration and a

scandal. But they enjoy adequate incentives from their media organisation and sponsorships from other corporate and interested organisations. On the other hand, Nigerian journalists and editors are unsheltered from unethical practices such as inducements with money from politicians, the brown envelope syndrome. These practice affects their framing or portrayal of political news as there are often no regular payments of salaries and adequate incentives by their newspapers organisation to support the hard work of political news coverage.

10. Newspapers editors in both countries play their primary roles of sub-editing diligently before publishing political articles. In Nigeria, editors emphasise the importance of their role as a form of self-censorship for the newspapers' political products. In New Zealand, the political editors also assume the roles of protecting their colleagues and mediating between the political desk and other intervening variables such as organisational influence or politicians and governments' politicking.

11. Training of journalists by New Zealand newspapers is assumed under their qualification from accredited journalism institutions, and they learn on the job through practice. Nigerian journalists and editors, aside from their initial qualifications and education, also enjoy training from other organisations who are interested in the democratic process of the country such as National Democratic Institute, UNICEF and some other NGOs.

#### **14.4 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE**

The literature in the thesis establishes that mass media have the potential to wield influence over politics (Bhattacharyya, 2012; McQuail, 2000,2005,2006). This study operationalised commercialised newspapers in New Zealand and Nigeria as the means of mass media used to exert influence, opinion in a democracy, but also prioritise economic goals (Deuze, 2012; Devereux, 2007; Malley, 2002; McQuail, 2000). The content analysis revalidates this literature as it shows the extensive use of newspapers for political news portrayal before, during and after the election in the two countries studied. The portrayal supports the varying levels of participation of the newspapers in the democracy, by enumerating the government political activities which were varied from one country to the other depending on their political and societal challenges. The focus also includes representative democracy elements such as the election, electorate reactions, voting organisation, political parties, election education and voters' registration.

Secondly, literature exposes the impact of the historical relationship between printing technologies, movement, periodic societal changes and also called for competing narratives on newspapers (Briggs & Burke, 2002,2005,2009; Curran, 2002a,b,2009,2011; Curran et al., 2009). These scholars support the claims to use journalism as a force for positive influence on society through advocacy and public debate. The evidence of this adoption shows in the variety of sources that the New Zealand media cited in the described articles. The facilitative role of the press, the monitorial and collaborative roles confirms the application of these narratives in New Zealand newspapers. New Zealand newspapers accommodate a wider range of views and consciously work, as the interview materials show, for the effective functioning of their representative democracy.

Nigerian press also reflects this level of influence in their historical narration as the first set of the newspaper were from the effort of the missionary. These papers had nationalists' orientations and radical views which achieved democratically elected government (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016; Duyile, 2004; Falola, 2009; Falola & Genova, 2009; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Oso et al., 2011). But the reports on the 2015 general election suggest that the Nigerian newspapers have lost their way. The sources cited in the papers did not portray a plurality of voices that would initiate engagement in political affairs by voters, to improve the practice of representative democracy. The facilitative, collaborative roles were also weakly taken up. The newspaper lacked radical functions and did not critique the government as expected.

The literature in this study further proves that challenges occur that affects newspaper journalists and editors during the news process in a democracy. In-depth interviews (see Chapters 8-11) data supports these assertions (Kuhn & Neveu, 2013; Smith, 2003; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2009). The dynamism of the conversation from New Zealand and Nigerian journalists and editors presents the essence of the application of the critical political economy (Cunningham et al., 2015; Hardy, 2014). Power interplay based on monetary influence from participants in democracy was germane in the discussion. Although New Zealand respondents argue that there is a balance of power relationships and their conglomerates or politicians do not affect political news portrayal, but the

electorates' interest generally determines news selection. Nonetheless one or two was quick to add the upcoming effects of sponsorship which is yet pronounced.

In the Nigerian newspapers, the thesis reveals an alarming level of power imbalances among the participants in the democracy who uses the publications. The papers to Nigerians have become more of a privatised elitist sphere than a public sphere. Journalists and editors have neglected their ethical and democratic obligation and collect monetary inducements from politicians. Political advertisement and advertorials have also been elevated above other types of articles to reflect political arguments and policies. This study shows through comments from newspapers' political news professional that there is a great room for improvement if the papers will reassert and fulfil their democratic roles, in order to have an established form of democracy.

#### **14.5 LIMITATION OF FINDINGS.**

1. Media ownership was assumed in this study as commercialised although it is in the form of conglomeration in New Zealand and sole proprietorship in Nigeria. The extent of its effects on the portrayal of political news was therefore not adequately measured.
2. The content analysis array of data were huge, and this study did not sufficiently encompass all in the discussion of findings. Only the relevant aspects of the data were adopted and discussed.
3. The framework of the thesis also which combines content analysis and in-depth interviews from two different countries is broad within the time frame allotted.
4. Research resources were scarce in the form of money for field trips. The researcher had to wait for a year interval before being able to collect the data from the two countries as that was when funding was available. The limitation slowed down the process of the field work which took almost a year's span.
5. The numbers of journalists and editors in New Zealand interviewed was limited when compared with Nigeria. This was because the former was reluctant in granting interviews and cited their busy schedules as the excuse. The number of respondents from New Zealand affected the balance of views.



#### **14.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES**

1. The researcher was unable to analyse the tone of the portrayal in the political articles of New Zealand and Nigeria and compare them. The tone will reflect the direction of the electorates or sources' voices, whether favourable or not. The fact that those sources were used is not informative enough. The study is suggested as an additional study area for future researchers.
2. The portrayal of the political news did not also accommodate analysis of gender participation as sources cited. Further study can be carried out to examine the level of the portrayal of women or gender in the political news to fulfil one of the alternative traditions of feminist narrative history.
3. With adequate financial sponsorship and an interested research personnel, further study can explore other transnational studies on media roles including others like broadcast media, from more countries on each axis of the democratic governance, which is emerging democracies and established democracies.
4. Further studies can likewise explore the role of the broadcast media in emerging democracies.
5. Studies could also compare the impact of the digital media sphere on emerging and established democracies to reflect the extent of the re-feudalisation of the public sphere in this digital age.

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# APPENDIX

## College of Arts

School of Language, Social and Political Sciences

Department of Media and Communication

Office: Room 517, Locke Building

Tel: +64 221327512.

[morenike.oladeinde@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:morenike.oladeinde@pg.canterbury.ac.nz)

---

**Project Title:** Media Commercialization in established and emerging democracies (New Zealand and Nigeria): A comparative analysis of their print media sphere.

**Researcher:** PhD Candidate

Department of Media and Communication

University of Canterbury

January, 2016

### **Research Information Sheet for Participants (Political Reporters)**

I hereby invite you as a participant (interviewee) in my research project titled: **Media Commercialization in established and emerging democracies (New Zealand and Nigeria): A comparative analysis of their print media sphere.**

It is important to inform you that your participation is absolutely voluntary.

The objective of this PhD project is to contribute to the field of media studies on the role the press is expected to play in a democracy with the focus on representative democracy in both New Zealand and Nigeria.

Your involvement in this study is to grant an interview session to share your experience as a political reporter in either New Zealand or Nigeria and in any of the selected media organization which you work for. The Questions are focused on your duties and the process you undertake in covering and writing political issues specifically on representative democracy. This interview session is envisaged not to last longer than 2 hours. You have the absolute right to withdraw from this project at any time and you can also withdraw whatever information you have provided.

The interview session will be audio-recorded. The recording will be transcribed so as to analyse the data gathered for the purpose of the project.

You will be given an opportunity to read and review the transcript of the recorded interview to correct any observed factual errors. After this stage, revision or review may no longer be possible.

Private Bag: Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140

University of Canterbury

Ph: +64 3 364 2987 ext: 45588

Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

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**Project Title: Media Commercialization in established and emerging democracies (New Zealand and Nigeria): A comparative analysis of their print media sphere.**

**Researcher:** Oladeinde, Rashidat Morenike PhD Candidate

Department of Media and Communication

University of Canterbury

January, 2016.

### RESEARCH CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS (POLITICAL REPORTERS)

I have read the attached information form and I understand the description of the project named above.

I acknowledged that I qualify to participate in this interview since I have been writing/editing political news for Newspapers for..... years.

I also have the following Qualification (Please tick as appropriate)

- (i) Bachelor of Arts or Science (B.A/B. Sc) : ..... (ii) Higher National Diploma (HND): .....  
(iii) National Diploma (ND): ..... (iv) Diploma: ..... (v) Postgraduate Diploma: .....  
(vi) Advanced Diploma: ..... (vii) Ordinary certificate: .....

I understand that my participation in the project will involve audiotaped interviews.

I understand and I am satisfied that all measures will be taken to protect my identity with use of pseudo-names and ensure my interests are well protected.

I understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, and may decide to withdraw any information I have provided from use in the final PhD report.

I understand and I agree to publication of the research findings provided my identity is not disclosed. That is, anonymity will be ensured by the researcher.

I am convinced that this research has been properly examined, reviewed and approved by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.



rans soon converging on Middle-earth (aka New Zealand) for a private screening of the third film in the trilogy before the movie's release in December.

A teaser of the trailer for *The Battle of the Five Armies* was also played for fans. The competition will see 150 fans (75 winners, plus one guest each)

Competition entries open on August 25. And a Marvel panel at the convention announced Kiwi actress Lucy Lawless would be joining as *SHIELD* agent Isabel Hartley.

— APNZ

**Harry Potter star goes undercover**  
A34

**Anna Paquin on stage and writer Philippa B**

# Men dominate Na

Democratic process partly to blame for gender inequality: p

**Claire Trevett**

claire.trevett@nzherald.co.nz

**N**ational Party president Peter Goodfellow says the low number of women standing for National this election is partly because of the democratic process by which the party chooses its electorate candidates, but a number of women are in the pipeline who could be candidates in future years.

National released its party list yesterday and if it gets 60 MPs into Parliament after the election, just 16 – 27 per cent – will be women.

In its full party list of 75, 21 are women. It currently has 15 women in Parliament – about a quarter of its caucus. That is in contrast to Labour, 43 per cent of its caucus are women.

Mr Goodfellow said there were a number of women in the pipeline who were likely to be future candidates.

"We are working really hard in the party to ensure we have a good representation of women, but National do have a very democratic process for selecting candidates and there are a lot of factors for the list ranking committee to take into account, including the merits of the candidates and gender and cultural diversity."

National's electorate candidates are selected by party members in

## NZ2014

### National Party's top 60:

- 16 women (27 per cent)
- 10 of Maori descent (17 per cent)
- 2 Pacific Islanders (3 per cent)
- 4 Asians (7 per cent)

Based on both list and electorate MPs if National gets 60 MPs.

local electorates rather than National headquarters. Of the 42 electorates it holds, 12 have women candidates. Of the 10 electorates in which the current MP is resigning, only two selected women candidates to replace them.

Labour's rules require it to have at least 45 per cent women in caucus after the 2014 election and 50 per cent by 2017, although on its current polling Labour may just miss that target.

It had proposed holding some

women-only selection seats rather than rely to lift its representation that was scotched after the election.

National expects to see new MPs into Parliament with significant turnover in the ranks of those who have left or said they will not stand in the election.

Ohariu candidate Iain Wilson, the highest ranked at 39, is a newcomer to be ranked among the sitting MPs.

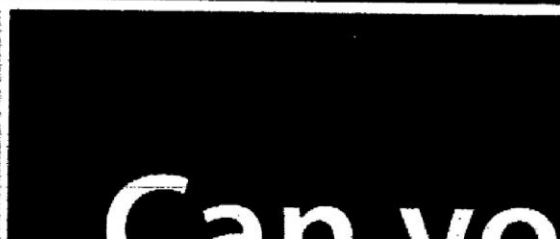
Other new candidates include list placings include Iain Wilson, candidate Parmjeet Parm, Hutt South candidate 49. Both are likely to be ranked off the party list.

India-born Dr Parmjit Singh and businesswoman, her family's confectionery business.

Mr Bishop is a former adviser and worked in the industry before putting forward as a candidate.

Port Hills candidate and Palmerston North Jono Naylor are next in line at 51 respectively.

Newcomers stand out among candidates which are currently retiring National MPs. It is a clear message that they are expected to hold the seat, but have been ranked in unwinnable positions.



Anna Paquin on stage at the Comic-Con International convention in San Diego, also attended by Sir Peter Jackson and writer Philippa Boyens (inset).

Pictures / Getty Images, AP

# e National's top 60

inequality: president

women-only selections to try to get more women elected in safe Labour seats rather than relying on the list to lift its representation. However, that was scotched after political pressure.

National expects to get at least 13 new MPs into Parliament after a significant turnover in which about 15 have left or said they will leave at the election.

Ohariu candidate Brett Hudson is highest ranked at 39, and the only newcomer to be ranked above some sitting MPs.

Other new candidates with high list placings include Mt Roskill candidate Parmjeet Parmar at 48 and Hutt South candidate Chris Bishop at 49. Both are likely to make it into Parliament off the party list.

India-born Dr Parmar is a scientist and businesswoman, helping manage her family's confectionery company.

Mr Bishop is a former ministerial adviser and worked in the tobacco industry before putting his name forward as a candidate.

Port Hills candidate Nuk Korako and Palmerston North candidate Jono Naylor are next in line at 50 and 51 respectively.

Newcomers standing in electorates which are currently held by retiring National MPs have been sent a clear message that they are expected to hold the seat – they have been ranked in unwinnable list places

## Craig likely to go it alone

Conservative Party leader Collin Craig is set to be left out in the cold when the Prime Minister outlines today which electorates National will do deals in.

National's party list rankings make it clear John Key will again give the nod to National voters in Epsom and Ohariu to vote for Act's David Seymour and United Future's Peter Dunne respectively.

However, National is not expected to make a similar concession for Mr Craig in Murray McCully's East Coast Bays electorate.

The Conservatives were at 2 per cent in last night's TV One-Colmar Brunton poll and 1.2 per cent in last week's Herald-Digipoll survey. That is enough to get at least two candidates into Parliament (if one won an electorate seat).



Collin Craig

There is concern in National that an association with the Conservatives could lose a portion of softer supporters who

are strongly opposed to the Conservatives and their stances on issues such as gay marriage.

Mr Craig said yesterday he did not know what National's decision was. He said he would be more surprised if it did pull Mr McCully out than if it didn't.

Mr McCully's election hoardings were already up.

Mr Craig said his main strategy was to try to get the party above the 5 per cent threshold, and he hoped to lift support in East Coast Bays to 15 per cent.

— Claire Trevett



from 54 to 63. Mr Goodfellow said there was an expectation those candidates should win their seats, and they had been ranked alphabetically.

That is potentially bad news for Napier candidate Wayne Walford, who would need National to get

about 49 per cent of the party vote to get into Parliament off the list.

While most of the other seats are deemed safe, many observers expect Labour's Stuart Nash to win Napier.

**Election countdown begins, A8-9**  
**Georgina Beyer joins Mana, A8**

I've injected drugs

I got a tattoo or body piercing using unsterile equipment



**NZ2014**

51 days to go **Sept 20**

# voters wooed chance to party

get more 18- to 30-year-olds into polling booths

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Tiki Taane

"The idea has been bubbling away in all of our minds since February," Ms O'Connell-Rapira said. "Everyone who's involved is really interested in making politics less boring.

Unfortunately, it just is really boring, but it's really, really important."

The trio have also been involved in similar efforts overseas, such as the Canadian Get out the Vote campaign.

"We are very closely modelled to Rock the Vote in the States and we actually recently acquired a licence to open up a New Zealand chapter of Rock the Vote."

The house party prize, which includes having Taane play a one-hour set on the night, will be awarded to the team in the Auckland-region that signs up the most people aged 18 to 30 to vote.

It is set for Saturday, August 9. Food and alcohol will be provided, and a crew

will clean up next day. Food for the morning after will also be available.

So far, seven groups have entered the competition, which closes next Wednesday, Ms O'Connell-Rapira said.

Swanson resident Hannah Morris has signed up her three-person flat for the competition.

The 26-year-old social work student, who estimated the group had about 50 pledges already, said she had signed up friends who hadn't enrolled to vote in past elections.

"It's a great initiative. I just entered my flat because we were having a party on that night anyway and it would turn out pretty good if we had Tiki Taane play."

The Block NZ's Shannon Ryan and South Auckland rapper Sid Diamond have also signed up with the RockEnrol campaign.

**Link to RockEnrol**  
<http://www.rockenrol.me/>



**THE**

**Car**  
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UP TO 6 X  
COMPACT

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PROFESSIONAL  
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THIS PRICE

EOS A600 WITH  
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**TELEVISION**

**SO**



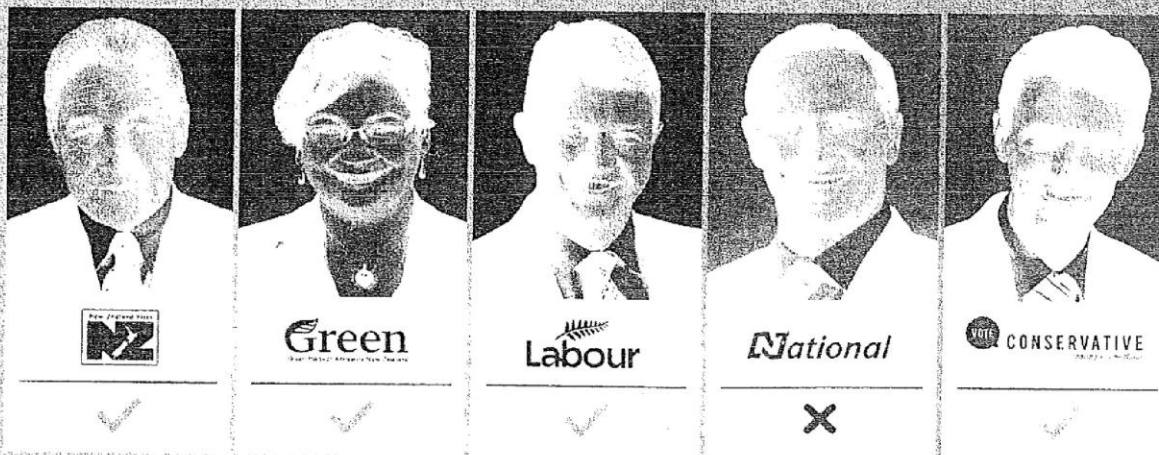
# Nicky Hager

He doesn't drink much and dope. He shines in a community left-wing choir. Said, "It's lives on very little and said, 'I've probably made a zero squirrel money away and the frugally. He might be puritan. He said, "Nobody's perfect. I'm all be careless. I've done things I'm ashamed of in my life that I don't want to tell anyone, just like everyone else." Of course to him to tell me what things, and of course he wouldn't. Oh, he once stood on an ant farm, I'm sorry. He is, thankfully, not violently. He is devious and manipulative. I'm he is too good though he was rather sweet the risk of being embarrassed. I liked him.

[illegible]

# We asked your political

Do you support increased funding to move  
from \$15.31 to \$17.50 per hour?



Go to [whocares.org.nz](http://whocares.org.nz) to tell your political party  
you support increased funding for caregiver wages  
from \$15.31 to \$17.50 per hour.

Support increased funding for caregiver wages

[whocares.org.nz](http://whocares.org.nz)



for 20 years and political editor for 11. We have a good mix of experience and youth. I love campaigns but they can be testing. My worst election campaign moment happened before I covered politics. I was sent to cover a press conference at Papakura in 1993 being held by Prime Minister Jim Bolger, Bill Birch and Paul East, on something I knew nothing about. I was mortified to find I was the only reporter there. The press conference went ahead and, remarkably, lasted a good 15 minutes. It was a good lesson: always be prepared.

**audrey.young@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: @audreyNZH**

### Nicholas Jones reporter

Nicholas is the *Herald's* education reporter and will be part of the election unit in Auckland. He first made his mark as consumer affairs reporter where he did an investigative series based on the sale of legal highs to schoolchildren. He does a lot of trekking around Auckland's west coast and last year climbed to the base camp of Everest.

**nicholas.jones@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: nickjonesNZer**



respected commentator in the Press Gallery, among both peers and politicians. What he says matters a great deal to politicians but he doesn't write with them or their acolytes in mind. He is always focused on ordinary readers and voters and providing them with insightful commentary to understand politics better. The first campaign he covered was in 1987, the middle of the fourth Labour Government. Last year, he was the Canon Columnist of the Year.

**john.armstrong@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: @JArmstrongNZH**

### Isaac Davison reporter

Isaac is the newest member of the *Herald's* Press Gallery team. He joined us in 2012 from the *Herald's* general staff where he was environment and science reporter. Highlights of his time in the Press Gallery have included covering the same-sex marriage bill through all its stages last year, and covering John Key's trip to the Antarctic.

**isaac.davison@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: @isaac\_davison**



reporter. Those who follow her work will already understand her special brand. She is the best sort of journalist one who can turn her hand to anything – hard news, feature, colour writing and commentary and you will see it all over the next couple of months. She recently authored a 10,000-word biography of David Cunliffe for the *Weekend Herald*. In 2012, she was named Canon Best Politics Feature Writer for a similar exercise on Phil Goff.

**claire.trevett@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: @CTrevettNZH**

### Derek Cheng reporter

Derek Cheng has recently rejoined the Press Gallery team to boost our election coverage. He covered the 2011 election with us but, shortly after, left to go travelling and climbing. The great heights he has scaled in the past three years have included peak the Himalayas, the Bugaboos in Canada and the Anti-Atlas Mountains in Morocco.

**derek.cheng@nzherald.co.nz**  
**Twitter: @dchengnz**



## Expensive promises analysed

Eight weeks out from the election, Labour's new spending promises are running streets ahead of National's, but John Key's Government has left itself plenty of fiscal headroom to catch up between now and polling day.

This election, the *Herald* is reviving the "Porkometer", our running tally of expensive new policies announced by the two major parties from 2011 through to election day this year.

With three big-ticket policy areas costing around a billion dollars or more – education, the Best Start child welfare package, and the KiwiBuild home construction programme – Labour's spending promises at \$5.15 billion for the next four years have

easily outstripped National's, which total \$1.31 billion so far.

However, like National, Labour is promising to balance the books. It would do so by raising \$4.85 billion in extra revenue over four years through its capital gains tax, crackdown on tax evasion and other initiatives. Therefore this election's Porkometer will also compare both parties' new spending promises against their projected revenue increases.

● The Porkometer takes its name from the US term "pork barrel", which refers to politicians advancing spending in particular geographical or special-interest areas to curry favour with voters.

– Adam Bennett



Our running total of two main parties' election promises

### National

School leadership reform  
 Roading and bridge acc  
 Auckland roads  
 Children  
 Housing affordability

Total

**\$1.31b**

the banking and finance industry during the Global Financial Crisis. He moved to the Press Gallery in 2010 and made his mark with detailed coverage ranging from the Bronwyn Pullar ACC saga to the National Government's asset sales programme. He compiled the *Herald* Porkometer, which we have revived today, showing National's and Labour's big election promises, and he will be updating it regularly. In his spare time he plays in a disco-funk band called the Deville Brothers. [adam.bennett@nzherald.co.nz](mailto:adam.bennett@nzherald.co.nz)  
Twitter: @AdDeville

### Brendan Manning reporter

Brendan will be part of the election unit in Auckland with a special interest in the Epsom electorate. He trained in 2011 at Whitireia in Wellington before joining APN's news wire service APNZ, based in the *Herald* newsroom in Auckland. Outside of journalism Brendan enjoys cooking and motorcycling. He used to manage Scopa, a Wellington restaurant. [brendan.manning@apnz.co.nz](mailto:brendan.manning@apnz.co.nz)  
Twitter: @brendanwmanning

## Georgina Beyer in comeback for Mana Party

Former Labour MP Georgina Beyer will stand for the Mana Party in Te Tai Tonga, saying she is doing so partly to atone for voting for the Foreshore and Seabed Act in 2004.

The former Carterton mayor was the world's first transsexual MP, serving under Labour from 1999 to 2007. She has struggled with kidney disease since last year but said her health was now steady and she looked forward to a new challenge.

"Taking on this role is my way of making amends to Maori for voting for the Foreshore and Seabed Bill which I was forced into and which totally broke me," she said.

Mana leader Hone Harawira said Ms Beyer would help raise the profile of the party: "We feel honoured to have her."

She has ancestral links to the Te Tai Tonga electorate, which covers all of the South Island and part of the lower North Island.

— Claire Trevett

## Porkometer

the costs of the election promises

m	\$359m
eleration	\$212m
	\$375m
	\$304m
	\$64m

illion

### Labour

Accelerated depreciation for industry including wood processing	\$210m
Regional development fund	\$200m
Christchurch flood and rockfall protection bare land payout	\$43m
Education	\$987m
Best Start	\$141b
KiwiBuild	\$153b
NZ Power	\$270m
Compulsory KiwiSaver	\$804m

Labour's additional revenue over four years over and above Budget 2014: \$4.85b

Total **\$5.15 billion**

# WHY HAVE PRIMARY TEACHERS PUT KIDS AHEAD OF A PAY RISE?

Primary teachers and principals have voted overwhelmingly to reject the Government's \$359 million plan to create a few new highly paid management and leadership roles in schools. Rather than money going into their own pockets, teachers want to put kids' needs first.



## WE HAVE A BETTER PLAN TO MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE FOR KIDS



can focus on teaching and learning

Support initiatives that make a real  
difference for Māori and Pasifika students

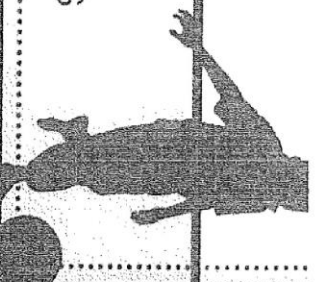


**STAND UP FOR A BETTER PLAN FOR OUR KIDS**  
**THINK ABOUT KIDS WHEN YOU VOTE THIS ELECTION**

**standupforkids.org.nz**

authorised by Paul Gouller, 178 Willis Street, Wellington

**NZEI TE RIUROA**  
NEW ZEALAND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE



should be handled before Slater broke it, with Ede mentioning individual donors' names. After Labour started looking for the leak and identified only the National Party HQ IP address, Ede wrote to Slater: "You stand out like dogs balls because of your damn Mac!!! In my case, I wish to offer a hearty sigh of relief and celebrate dynamic IP addresses."

**4** of the SIS to help Slater embarrass then-Labour leader Phil Goff. Slater tipped off to use the Official Information Act to get documents showing that Goff had been briefed about concerns over Israeli backpackers in Christchurch, after initially denying it.  
**Hager's story** Slater put in an OIA

**3** Judith Collins "possibly" leaked to Slater an email from Michelle Boag about Bronwyn Pullar's ACC case after Pullar was mistakenly sent details of thousands of ACC clients.  
**Hager's story** In emails between Slater and a friend before Ms Pullar's name was public, Slater said he had spoken to

# 'That's fine' – Key

PM denies his office spied on Labour, but says looking at online



**Adam Bennett** politics  
adam.bennett@nzherald.co.nz

**P** rime Minister John Key is backing spin doctor Jason Ede over claims he accessed Labour's membership records – but said that even if he did "it would be fine".

Mr Key yesterday faced reporters for the first time since the release of investigative writer Nicky Hager's book *Dirty Politics* which claims Mr Ede worked with bloggers Cameron Slater and David Farrar on "attack politics".

Mr Hager's book – based on thousands of messages between Mr Slater, Mr Ede and others – claims Mr Ede ran Mr Key's dirty tricks operations which were kept at arms' length from the Prime Minister to avoid damaging his image.

One of the allegations is that Mr Ede – working just a few doors down from Mr Key's Beehive office – covertly accessed the Labour Party's computer systems in mid-2011.

Mr Slater detailed his own incursions into Labour's system at the time but Mr Key yesterday told reporters in Dunedin yesterday that Mr Ede was not involved.

"Mr Slater's made it quite clear on his website today that it was nothing to do with the National Party," he said.

Asked about the suggestions that Labour's records of the incursions pointed to his own offices, Mr Key said: "I don't think that's right. It's nothing to do with our office."

Mr Slater and a National Party

## Slater ready with slew of

**David Fisher**

Blogger Cameron Slater says he will complain to police about the hacking of his Whale Oil website and will name entrepreneur Kim Dotcom as someone detectives should speak to.

He said he would also complain to the Privacy Commission, relying on a recent High Court ruling to force from author Nicky Hager his source material for the book.

The blogger has come out swinging after the publication of the book *Dirty Politics*, which aimed to paint a picture of a National Party obsessed with dirty tricks.

Drawing on emails obtained by a hacker, the book claims Slater is the lead "attack blog" driving negative coverage of political opponents using information from a staff member of the Prime Minister and a senior Cabinet minister.

Slater said it was a clear criminal offence to hack his computer and take his emails.

He said he had an "implied admission from Kim Dotcom to one of my sources that he was behind it" so would name him when speaking to police. He said the case would be clear for police to prosecute.

Slater said a recent decision by the High Court that stripped Privacy Act protection from book authors meant he would be able to force Hager to divulge source information.

Slater said the book was a selective use of emails that were taken from his website during the Denial of Service attack in January.

"I kept that quiet to see where it turned up. I had no idea what they had got."

He said he did not warn anyone their communications had been taken because he had "no idea as to

### THE HOLLOW MAN



Headquarters staffer were able to gain access to Labour's records because of a security flaw on the party's website.

Mr Key suggested that even if Mr Ede had accessed the records, "of course it would be fine to go and do that" because they were unprotected.

Asked if he stood by Mr Ede, Mr Key responded: "Yeah absolutely."

Mr Ede left Mr Key's office this ye

**nzher**  
Visit the  
hager vid  
Nicky H  
about

**NZ2014** 51 days to go

# Young voters woow with chance to part

Competition aims to get more 18- to 30-year-olds into polling b

**Teuila Fuatai**  
teuila.fuatai@nzherald.co.nz

**P**olitics and young people aren't always the best mix but a competition offering a night with Tiki Taane and a fully catered house party, complete with hangover food and morning-after clean-up, is intended to change that.

The 10-day competition kicked off on Monday and is part of the national RockEnrol campaign aimed at getting young people to vote in September.

It was set up in May by Aucklanders Laura O'Connell-Rapira, Meliesha Platt and Lizzie Sullivan, aged 25, 26 and 24 respectively, and uses "cultural leaders" such as Tiki Taane to promote voter involvement among young people.

Last election, 31 per cent of people aged between 18 and 24 did not enrol to vote. This compared with about 5 per cent for those over 65.



Tiki Taane

"The idea has been bubbling away in all of our minds since February," Ms O'Connell-Rapira said. "Everyone who's involved is really interested in making politics less boring."

Unfortunately, it just is really boring, but it's really, really important."

The trio have also been involved in similar efforts overseas, such as the Canadian Get out the Vote campaign.

"We are very closely modelled to Rock the Vote in the States and we actually recently acquired a licence to open up a New Zealand chapter of Rock the Vote."

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"It's a great initiative flat because we were that night anyway and pretty good if we had

The Block NZ's St South Auckland rapper also signed up with th paign.

 **Link to RockEnr**  
<http://www.rocke>



involvement.

Judith Collins "possibly" leaked to Slater an email from Michelle Boag about Bronwyn Pullar's ACC case after Pullar mistakenly sent details of

story In emails between Slater and friend before Ms Pullar's name was Slater said he had spoken to

WHO got the spreadsheet and was about to be "ratf\*\*\*\*". Other emails show Slater later denied to friend Jordan Williams that Collins had anything to do with it.

**The response** Collins has consistently denied leaking the email and Prime Minister John Key said yesterday he took her at her word. Slater says Collins did not leak it to him.

planned to tell Hide they had the texts and would leak them if he did not resign by that Friday. It is unclear if they went ahead with that or got the texts.

**The response** Hide told RadioLive he knew nothing about the texts or attempts to blackmail him. John Key denied involvement by National. Williamson dismissed the claim.

# - Key relaxed on

looking at online membership records was okay because they

## h slew of complaints

er said it was a clear criminal to hack his computer and emails.

aid he had an "implied" from Kim Dotcom to one sources that he was behind it" id name him when speaking re. He said the case would be r: police to prosecute. er said a recent decision by the ourt that stripped Privacy Act tion from book authors meant id be able to force Hager to e source information. er said the book was a selective emails that were taken from bsite during the Denial of a attack in January. pt that quiet to see where it l up. I had no idea what they it."

said he did not warn anyone omunications had been because he had "no idea as to

the extent of it".

Slater said the 8GB that Hager claimed to have was only a fraction of the content he had. "It's still a massive breach of privacy. Nicky has clearly breached my privacy."

He questioned the authenticity of emails between himself and Justice Minister Judith Collins. The book claims there were hundreds of emails exchanged but Slater said Mrs Collins rarely emailed him.

Slater also rejected claims he was paid to place articles on his website for the alcohol and tobacco lobby: "I run a business and I offer PR and social media advice and I charge for that privilege."

He said mainstream media companies were also forming commercial relationships which influenced their editorial content. When compared to what he did, he said there was no difference.

"I wouldn't necessarily have done it but I'm not going to judge."

Another claim is that Mr Slater was tipped off by the Prime Minister's office to ask the Security Intelligence Service for a confidential document about a briefing former Labour Leader Phil Goff had with the spy agency in 2011.

Mr Hager also claims Mr Key's office had a hand in ensuring the document was given to Mr Slater.

The release of the document was embarrassing to Mr Goff at the time because it contradicted comments the Opposition Leader had made publicly about the briefing.

An angry Mr Goff yesterday said Mr Hager's version of events was "exactly what happened". Mr Key had given the information to Mr Slater either directly or through Mr Ede.

That was "totally contrary to the very strong convention about the confidentiality of security intelligence information".

"For the minister in charge of the SIS to misuse information for political purposes means that he's actually not fit to be prime minister."

Mr Key said he was "not in the slightest" involved.

"Those decisions are made absolutely by SIS and because they had the information and Warren Tucker as the head of the SIS wanted to put that as the head of the SIS in the public domain it was nothing to do with me."

Former Act Leader Rodney Hide yesterday denied Mr Hager's claim he was forced out of the job by Mr Slater and National Party activist Simon Lusk using records of alleged improper texts sent to a woman.

quarters staffer ble to gain access bour's records e of a security in the party's e.

Key suggested ven if Mr Ede accessed the ls, "of course it be fine to go and at" because they unprotected.

ed if he stood by Mr Ede, Mr esponded: "Yeah absolutely." Ede left Mr Key's office this year



[nzherald.co.nz](http://nzherald.co.nz)

Visit [tinyurl.com/hagervid](http://tinyurl.com/hagervid) for video of Nicky Hager talking about the book

and is now working at National Party headquarters on its re-election campaign.

Campaign chairman Steven Joyce early yesterday said he understood Mr Ede had not accessed Labour's records.

But he later changed his mind telling the *Herald*: "He may have seen it but it was wide open for anyone to see."

But like Mr Key he said: "I don't think it was a big deal either way."

**Editorial A34  
Toby Manhire A35**



Southland DHB.

Dr Murray announced he was quitting his job as head of the Fraser Health Authority in British Columbia and returning to New Zealand shortly before the Canadian Government-ordered review was due to be released.

The review found several Fraser Health Authority hospitals had some of the worst results in Canada on various measures of patient safety and quality of care.

Labour's health spokeswoman Annette King yesterday branded the report damning.

Bob Simcock, chairman of the Waikato board, said it had been assured of Dr Murray's competence following an "extensive international search" for a new CEO.

"We were aware of the review and so we took particular point to raise that issue with both the chair and the Ministry of Health up there. As far as the ministry was concerned it didn't raise issues of performance relating to Nigel and they thought he'd done a good job at Fraser.

"That, with all the other references we'd got, which were all extremely positive, leads me to have confidence that he's going to do the job we want."

He said the references "universally describe him in outstanding terms".

"I could not have expected as strong references as we got," Mr Simcock said. "We expect Nigel to perform to the level of those references."

He said Dr Murray was taking up the

extensive international search.

role at a "shift time", in which the DHB was facing a number of issues. "I've spoken to him and he's very keen to get here and get on with the job. It's a major step for us."

Dr Murray was announced as the new CEO of Waikato DHB last month, amid speculation he had secured the job before the hiring process was complete.

Mr Simcock said such inferences were nonsense and had no foundation.

After Dr Murray resigned from Fraser Health, because it had become public that he had applied for the Waikato job, "he called me and I said, 'well we can't make a commitment to you, we haven't finished our reference checking'. He said, 'I know, that's fine, I've been offered another job'." Mr Simcock said.

The board had also investigated concerns raised by the Association of Salaried Medical Specialists, which described Dr Murray as a "polarising" leader and earlier called on the DHB to "put the brakes" on hiring him, and said they were totally unfounded.

Yesterday, a Waikato DHB spokeswoman said she was unable to put media in touch with Dr Murray for interviews as he was still in Canada.

Mr Simcock said he spoke to Dr Murray yesterday and thought he would not be speaking to media regarding the review as he had not done so in Canada. - APNZ

## Rise in pre-election spending

Pre-election spending across the country is up on previous years, but some regions are opening their wallets more than others, Paymark says.

Nationwide spending through the Paymark network between last June and this June - the last full financial year before the September election - was up by 7.3 per cent, Paymark head of customer relations Mark Spicer said. This contrasts with growth rates in 2012/2013 and 2011/2012, which both sat at 3.6 per cent.

Unsurprisingly, Canterbury had been at the fore of growth over the last three years, particularly in the last two years during which spending increased by 17.6 per cent, Mr Spicer said.

This rate of growth was matched by Auckland (17.6 per cent) and surpassed by Palmerston North (20 per cent), illustrating the "wider nature of the recovery", he said. However, bucking that trend were regions including Wellington, Wanganui and West Coast, which had struggled to increase in three years by as much as experienced in one year in the above regions.

The average spending increase per merchant during the three years was 10.4 per cent, Mr Spicer said.

Sectors with above-average per-merchant spending growth included hardware stores (37.4 per cent) and cafes/restaurants (21.7 per cent). - APNZ

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## NEW ADVERT RATE

### GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS LIMITED (Black and White)

Transition, In memoriam, Goodwill Messages, Annual Reports, Balance Sheets, Political  
and Legal Notice

<u>SIZE IN CENTIMETERS</u>	<u>SIZE IN INCHES</u>	<u>AMOUNT (N)</u>	<u>5% VAT</u>
2.5cm x 1	1 x 1	5,962.73	298.12
	1 x 2	11,888.90	594.43
	2 x 2	23,777.81	1,188.89
	4 x 2	47,555.62	2,377.78
	5 x 2	59,444.52	2,972.22
7.5cm x 2	3 x 2	35,776.30	1,788.80
15cm x 2	6 x 2	71,552.76	3,577.60
15cm x 3	6 x 3	107,329.25	5,336.46
16.5cm x 3	6.5 x 3	116,273.31	5,813.66
	7 x 2	83,478.20	4,173.90
	7 x 3	135,217.30	6,760.80
Quarter Page	7 x 4	166,956.56	8,374.83
	8 x 2	95,403.60	4,770.18
	8 x 3	143,105.50	7,155.20
20cm x 3	8 x 4	190,807.30	9,540.30
20cm x 4	8 x 5	238,509.20	11,925.46
20cm x 5	8 x 6	286,211.04	14,310.55
	9 x 2	107,329.25	5,366.46
	9 x 3	160,993.70	8,049.68
22.5cm x 3	9 x 4	214,658.20	10,732.90
22.5cm x 4	9 x 5	321,445.31	16,072.22
22.5cm x 5	9 x 6	386,385.18	19,319.25
	10 x 3	178,580.38	8,929.01
	10 x 4	238,116.32	11,905.81
25cm x 3	10 x 5	372,671.10	18,633.55
25cm x 4	10 x 6	447,205.31	22,360.26
	11 x 5	409,938.82	20,496.90
	11 x 6	470,845.78	23,542.28
36.5cm x 2	14.5 x 2	207,503.26	10,375.16
36.5cm x 4	14.5 x 4	415,006.52	20,750.03
	14.5 x 5	497,143.23	24,857.15
Half Page	7.25 x 6	283,359.00	14,767.90
Full Page	14.5 x 6	484,500.00	24,222.00
Front Strip (B&W)	2 X 6	180,000.00	9,000.00

# THE GUARDIAN

## **SPECIAL SECTIONS: Vacancies and Notice**

<b><u>SIZE IN CENTIMETERS</u></b>	<b><u>SIZE IN INCHES</u></b>	<b><u>AMOUNT (N)</u></b>	<b><u>5% VAT</u></b>
<b>2.5cm x 1</b>	<b>1 x 1</b>	<b>4,828.92</b>	<b>241.00</b>
	<b>1 x 2</b>	<b>9,657.84</b>	<b>482.00</b>
	<b>2 x 2</b>	<b>19,315.68</b>	<b>965.00</b>
	<b>4 x 2</b>	<b>38,631.68</b>	<b>1,931.54</b>
	<b>5 x 2</b>	<b>48,289.20</b>	<b>2,414.46</b>
<b>7.5cm x 2</b>	<b>3 x 2</b>	<b>28,973.52</b>	<b>1,448.67</b>
<b>15cm x 2</b>	<b>6 x 2</b>	<b>57,947.04</b>	<b>2,897.35</b>
<b>15cm x 3</b>	<b>6 x 3</b>	<b>86,920.56</b>	<b>4,346.02</b>
<b>16.5cm x 3</b>	<b>6.5 x 3</b>	<b>94,163.96</b>	<b>4,708.19</b>
	<b>7 x 2</b>	<b>67,604.88</b>	<b>3,841.18</b>
<b>Quarter Page</b>	<b>7 x 3</b>	<b>101,407.31</b>	<b>5,070.36</b>
	<b>7 x 4</b>	<b>153,647.48</b>	<b>7,682.37</b>
	<b>7 x 5</b>	<b>192,105.47</b>	<b>9,605.26</b>
	<b>8 x 2</b>	<b>77,262.72</b>	<b>3,863.13</b>
	<b>8 x 3</b>	<b>131,871.78</b>	<b>6,593.58</b>
<b>20cm x 3</b>	<b>8 x 4</b>	<b>175,835.16</b>	<b>8,791.75</b>
<b>20cm x 4</b>	<b>8 x 5</b>	<b>219,798.51</b>	<b>10,989.92</b>
<b>20cm x 5</b>	<b>8 x 6</b>	<b>263,457.18</b>	<b>13,172.85</b>
	<b>9 x 2</b>	<b>98,773.60</b>	<b>4,938.67</b>
<b>22.5cm x 3</b>	<b>9 x 3</b>	<b>148,535.31</b>	<b>7,417.76</b>
<b>22.5cm x 4</b>	<b>9 x 4</b>	<b>197,812.20</b>	<b>9,890.61</b>
<b>22.5cm x 5</b>	<b>9 x 5</b>	<b>296,716.87</b>	<b>14,835.37</b>
	<b>9 x 6</b>	<b>355,584.93</b>	<b>17,779.23</b>
<b>25cm x 3</b>	<b>10 x 3</b>	<b>164,845.07</b>	<b>8,242.25</b>
<b>25cm x 4</b>	<b>10 x 4</b>	<b>219,798.51</b>	<b>10,989.92</b>
<b>25cm x 5</b>	<b>10 x 5</b>	<b>342,963.28</b>	<b>17,148.16</b>
	<b>10 x 6</b>	<b>411,555.93</b>	<b>20,577.78</b>
	<b>11 x 5</b>	<b>377,259.61</b>	<b>18,862.97</b>
	<b>11 x 6</b>	<b>434,648.90</b>	<b>21,734.43</b>
	<b>14.5 x 2</b>	<b>159,135.22</b>	<b>7,956.75</b>
<b>36.5cm x 4</b>	<b>14.5 x 4</b>	<b>381,923.91</b>	<b>19,096.18</b>
<b>Half Page</b>	<b>7.25 x 6</b>	<b>259,085.93</b>	<b>12,954.28</b>
	<b>14.5 x 5</b>	<b>454,237.26</b>	<b>22,711.86</b>
<b>Full Page</b>	<b>14.5 x 6</b>	<b>445,656.20</b>	<b>22,282.81</b>
<b>Double Spread – Half</b>		<b>876,186.72</b>	<b>43,809.32</b>
<b>Double Spread – Full Page</b>		<b>1,404,914.90</b>	<b>70,245.70</b>

**CLASSIFIED ADVERT:** – N146.25 per word + N7.31 – ADVERT BOX NUMBER – N26,000

**CLASSIFIED BOX ADVERT:** – N 6,175.00 Per Box + N325.00

**SATURDAY HOSPITALITY & TOURISM CLASSIFIEDS:** – – N 6,175.00 Per Box + N325.00



# THE GUARDIAN

## PRODUCT, COMPULIFE AND PROPERTY

<u>SIZE IN CENTIMETERS</u>	<u>SIZE IN INCHES</u>	<u>AMOUNT (N)</u>	<u>5% VAT</u>
2.5cm	1 x 1	3,986.30	
	1 x 2	7,972.60	
5cm x 2	2 x 2	15,945.20	
7.5cm x 2	3 x 2	23,917.80	
	4 x 2	31,890.04	
	5 x 2	39,863.00	
15cm x 2	6 x 2	47,835.60	
	7 x 2	55,808.20	
	8 x 2	63,780.80	
	9 x 2	84,689.30	4,234.50
25cm x 2	10 x 2	90,682.03	4,534.10
36.25cm x 2	14.5 x 2	131,490.45	6,574.52
	5 x 3	59,794.50	
17cm x 3	6 x 3	71,758.80	
20cm x 3	7 x 3	83,712.30	
6.25cm x 3	8 x 3	108,818.41	5,441.00
	6 x 4	108,635.90	5,432.00
17 cm x 4	7 x 4	126,741.65	6,337.08
	8 x 4	144,939.13	7,247.00
25 cm	10 x 4	181,370.11	9,068.51
	14.5 x 3	196,902.56	9,845.12
36.25cm x 4	14.5 x 4	262,987.40	13,149.37
	7 x 5	158,427.35	7,921.40
	8 x 5	181,175.42	9,058.80
	9 x 5	244,430.80	12,223.00
	9 x 6	293,315.70	14,665.80
25cm x 5	10 x 5	282,905.50	14,145.30
	10 x 6	339,486.56	16,974.30
	11 x 5	311,196.00	15,559.80
	11 x 6	358,498.00	17,925.00
Half Page	7 x 6	229,712.50	11,485.60
Full Page		399,940.00	19,997.00

## **GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS LIMITED (COLOUR RATE)**

<b><u>SIZE IN CENTIMETRES</u></b>	<b><u>SIZE IN INCHES</u></b>	<b><u>AMOUNT (N)</u></b>	<b><u>5% VAT</u></b>
2.5cm	x 1	1 x 1	6,458.00
		1x 2	13,104.00
		2 x 2	26,254.70
		3 x 2	39,382.20
		4 x 2	52,509.60
		5 x 2	65,637.00
		6 x 2	80,150.00
		7 x 2	91,891.80
		7 x 3	175,500.00
		7 x 4	207,500.00
17cm	x 3	8 x 2	105,019.20
		9 x 2	118,088.10
		9 x 3	177,219.90
		10 x 3	196,911.00
		14.5 x 2	274,100.00
25cm	x 5	8 x 4	210,038.40
36.25	x 2	9 x 4	236,293.20
25cm	x 4	10 x 4	315,057.60
36.25cm	x 4	14.5 x 4	548,200.20
		7 x 5	229,729.50
		8 x 5	315,057.60
		8 x 6	378,069.12
		9 x 5	425,327.76
25cm	x5	10 x 5	472,586.40
		11 x 5	519,845.04
		9 x 6	510,393.31
		10 x 6	567,103.68
		11 x 6	623,812.80
		12 x 6	680,524.41
		7.25 x 6	333,872.00
Half Page			
Full Page		14.5 x 6	590,000.00

### **SPECIAL POSITIONS:**

Centre Spread	(Full Page)	1,890,000.00	94,500.00
Double Spread		1,640,000.00	82,000.00
Centre Spread	(Half Page)	1,070,593.48	
Double Spread	(Half Page)	780,000.00	39,000.00
Page 2	(Full Page)	1,495,000.00	74,750.00
Page 3	(Full Page)	1,380,000.00	
Page 4	(Full Page)	1,250,000.00	62,500.00
Page 5	(Full Page)	1,120,000.00	56,000.00
Page 6	(Full Page)	990,000.00	49,500.00
Page 7	(Full Page)	860,000.00	43,000.00
Page 8	(Full Page)	790,000.00	39,500.00
Page 9	(Full Page)	710,000.00	35,500.00
Wrap Around 1 Front Strip, 1 Back Strip, 4 Full Page Pull Out			25,000.000.00
			VAT 1,250.000

### **SPECIAL POSITIONS (COLOUR)**

<b>SIZES IN CM</b>	<b>SIZES IN INCHES</b>	<b>AMOUNT (N)</b>	<b>5% VAT</b>
<b>FP (Back page)</b>	<b>14.5 x 6</b>	<b>7,560,000.00</b>	<b>378,000.00</b>
<b>10cm x 6</b>	<b>4 x 6 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>5,460,000.00</b>	<b>273,000.00</b>
<b>15cm x 6</b>	<b>6 x 6 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>7,350,000.00</b>	<b>369,500.00</b>
<b>17cm x6</b>	<b>7 x 6 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>10,500,000.00</b>	<b>525,000.00</b>
<b>26cm x 6</b>	<b>10 x 6 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>12,600,000.00</b>	<b>630,000.00</b>
<b>Fp (Back page Weekends)</b>	<b>14.5 x 6</b>	<b>1,000,000.00</b>	<b>55,000.00</b>
<b>FP (Strip)</b>	<b>2 x 6</b>	<b>675,675.00</b>	<b>33,783.75</b>
<b>BP (Strip)</b>	<b>2 x 6</b>	<b>656,371.20</b>	<b>32,818.00</b>
<b>ROP</b>	<b>2 x 6</b>	<b>280,000.00</b>	<b>14,000.00</b>
<b>ROP</b>	<b>2 X 12</b>	<b>812,000.00</b>	<b>40,000.00</b>
<b>ROP</b>	<b>4 x 6</b>	<b>500,000.00</b>	<b>25,000.00</b>
<b>Back Page</b>	<b>10" x 6</b>	<b>860,000.00</b>	<b>43,000.00</b>
<b>8mm x 6</b>	<b>3" x 6 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>1,200,000.00</b>	<b>60,000.00</b>
<b>FP (Strip)</b>	<b>2x6 (UNDER MAST HEAD)</b>	<b>4,200,000.00</b>	<b>210,000.00</b>
<b>Front Page</b>	<b>12" X 2 (FRONT PAGE)</b>	<b>5,040,000.00</b>	<b>252,000.00</b>
<b>ROP</b>	<b>3 X 6 (ROP)</b>	<b>420,000.00</b>	<b>21,000.00</b>

## THE GUARDIAN

### LOOSE ADVERTS

Handling Charges		Rate per 1000 copies	
		<u>Amount</u>	<u>5% VAT</u>
₦200,000.00	Single	- ₦25,000.00	₦1,250.00
Special Inserts (Double Spread)	-	₦50,000.00	₦2,500.00

### NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS

#### TECHNICAL DATA

Number of Columns	-	Six (06)
Full Page Depth	-	14.5 inches
Full Page Width	-	10 3/8 inches
Print Process	-	Web Offset Litho

#### OPTIONS FOR ADVERT MATERIALS (COLOUR AND BLACK/WHITE)

All materials saved in CD or flash.

- CorelDraw with all fonts curved.
- Colour – JPEG or PDF in CMYK.
- Black and White – JPEG or PDF in GRAYSCALE.
- Proof must be attached with CD or flash.
- All materials to reach us five days to publication.

#### COPY DATE

WITHIN LAGOS	-	5 Days prior to publication
OUTSIDE LAGOS	-	7 Days prior to publication

#### CANCELLATION

Cancellation will only be accepted if stated in Writing at least 5 working days before publication

#### OTHER SPECIAL POSITION

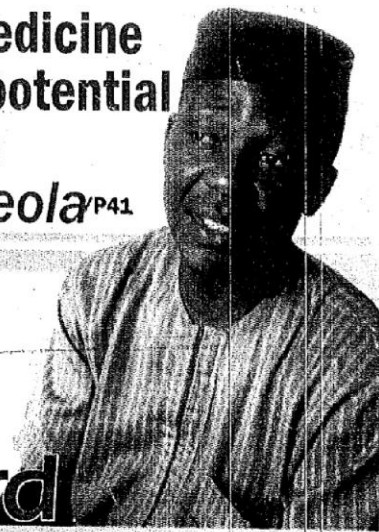
Special positions are available at 45% surcharge

#### SERIES DISCOUNT ON ALL PUBLICATIONS

5 – 10 Insertions	2.5%
11 – 20 Insertions	5%
21 – 50 Insertions	10%

Series Discount is obtainable after the publication of the last insertion.

NOTE: Late Cancellation will attract 40% penalty.



# Financial

[www.vanguardngr.com](http://www.vanguardngr.com)
**Vanguard**

MARCH 23, 2015

● Olu Adeola

## Parties spend N4.9bn on political adverts

*...As regulators, agencies decry unvetted political ads*

BY PRINCEWILL  
EKWUJURU

**W**ITH just five days to the March 28 elections, advertising spend on political campaigns has been estimated to have cost political parties, friends and well wishers of those seeking elective offices a princely N4.9 billion so far. However, federal and state advert regulatory agencies have expressed displeasure over publications of unapproved advert materials.

According to data gathered from different advert agencies and reports from advert regulatory bodies, the print media have so far raked in about N1.382 billion of the advert spend, with the All Progressives Congress, APC spending N332.503 million on its presidential candidate, while its Peoples Democratic Party, PDP counterpart spent N1.049 billion, which is 65.5 per cent higher than the amount spent by APC. Field reports further put other expenses on campaign rallies for PDP and APC at N1.057 billion and N595.082 million respectively. Both parties also spent N224.36 million on outdoor campaigns.

The broadcast campaign coverage for the presidential candidates were put at N508.35 million and N391.05 million for PDP and APC. Electronic media adverts were N733.9million for PDP and N555.6 million for APC respectively, bringing the total amount to N2.5 billion. In summary, a total of N4.973 billion has been spent on campaign expenses, with PDP and

APC spending N3.549 billion and N1.424 billion respectively.

Last year, the Advertising Agencies Association of Nigeria, AAAN had projected that the 2015 general elections will contribute billions of naira to the advert industry, an amount it said will form major part of the advertising spend for the 2015 advertising year. But from recent development and the run of political campaigns so far, the projection has been surpassed in terms of adspend. However, advert practitioners feel the estimate is much less than what has been spent, going by the inability of heads of sectoral bodies in the advert

industry to track the amount spent by politicians, as a result of the haphazard nature the adverts were given out.

It would be recalled that in 2014, former president of AAAN and Chief Operating Officer of 141 Worldwide, Bunmi Oke, predicted a bright future for any ad agency that puts its act together to tap into the windfall expected from the election year and the huge budget politicians would earmark for the 2015 political campaigns.

Worried by the bulk of political campaign materials, *Financial Vanguard* sampled the opinions of

stakeholders who were particularly disappointed at the manner unapproved political materials litter advertising spaces in the country.

It is a fact that Nigeria has a history of not coming out with election spending figures, and data are equally unavailable on the actual spending of politicians on campaigns. But going by the volume of materials churned out through the different media of communication for political parties, it is no longer in doubt that billions of naira were spent in the 2015 election campaigns.

*Continues on page 22*



**LECTURE:** MD/ CEO of Wema Bank, Mr Segun Oloketuyi here makes a presentation on 'Growing Your Money' to students of Government Secondary School, Moraba, Ilorin, in Kwara State to commemorate the Child & Youth Financial Literacy Day.



# The Guardian

Conscience, Nurtured by Truth

31, No. 13,168 ■ Saturday, January 17, 2015 [www.theguardiannews.com](http://www.theguardiannews.com) @NGRGUARDIANNEWS TheGuardian Nigeria theguardianmobile N150

## G Seeks To Prevent Boko Haram from Recruiting New Members

Faris Tsokar, Abuja

The Federal Government continues its fight against terrorism by adopting new approaches to insurgents' capacity to recruit new members.

incidence of violent activities, change the behaviour of violent extremists and counter the narrative of extreme groups while promoting core national values.

National Security Adviser (NSA), retired Colonel Sambo Dasuki at a press briefing yesterday in Abuja said the key focus of the deradicalization programme is "to stop the insurgents' capacity to recruit, get those who do not want to fight, stop those who want to join the fight from joining and give the youths and the populace a reason to hope".

Dasuki said the programme is built on three main components of counter radicalization, de-radicalization and strategic communication, as the rise of violent extremist groups in the country needs to be attacked on different fronts, hence the adoption of a soft approach "that seeks to counter the ideology of violence, build trust and community resilience at the grassroots".

Dasuki, who was represented at the briefing by Fatima Akilu, the Director, Behavioural Services in the ONSA, said radicalization is the process of adopting an extremist belief system backed up by narratives

with compelling drive on individuals on groups to use, support or facilitate violence as a method of effecting societal change.

He further explained that the counter radicalization programme is intended "to create awareness of the threats of violent extremism, identify and strengthen credible voices in communities, collate data of religious figures, sects, places of worship and capture the kind of teaching/preaching in schools and worship centres, identify and strengthen channels of distribution of counter-narratives, initiate and conduct training for peace projects including inter and intra-faith".

He added: "Others are to identify and start-up small business in flash point states, work with law enforcement to increase the reach of community policing and engage the security forces in the field on community building initiatives".

The Controller General of the Nigeria Prison Service (NPS), Peter Elpendu said the involvement of the service is not just to ensure that deviants are placed locked up, but the fact that the programme shares the fundamental principle of ensuring that would-be terrorists must be dissuaded from radical belief systems in the interpretation of religion

and behaviour towards others.

He said the NPS has contributed resources in the development of the project with 12 members of the NPS.

Treatment Management Team planning for implementation; 26 of the NPS' most senior officers including the CGP and all the Deputy CGPs; prison policy for managing violent extremist offenders; 20 custodial officers, introduction for the implementation of Derad programme; 40 NPS psychologists to work as part of treatment programme and 30 NPS inmates to work as part of treatment programme.



Dismissed soldiers during their protest in Jos ... yesterday.

PHOTO: ISA ABDULSALAMI AHOVI

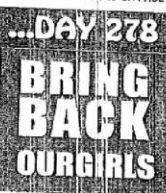
### 227 Soldiers Protest Their Dismissal By 3 Armoured Division

From Isa Abdulsalami Ahovi, Jos

No fewer than 227 soldiers who were allegedly dismissed by the military authorities who were from the 3 Armoured Division in Jos yesterday protested against their dismissal.

The protesting soldiers who stormed the Plateau

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2





# Oil Price Fall: Nigeria Loses \$62.8m In One Month

From Mathias Okwo (Assistant Business Editor, Abuja)

- States Plan Downward Review Of Political Appointees' Perks
- Economic Expert Harps On Revenue Leakage Blockage

THE crude oil price slump globally has continued to take its toll on Nigeria's revenue, leading to loss of over \$62.8 million revenue between November and December last year.

And the development has led to a further dip in part of the country's fiscal buffers - the Excess Crude Account (ECA) slid further down from its \$3.1 billion level last month to \$2.49 billion.

The dip followed another withdrawal from the account by the joint Federal and States Federation Accounts Allocation Committee (FAAC) yesterday to buoy the low rev-

enue generation for the month of December which was distributed yesterday. The value of the deduction from the account in Naira value was N15,631 billion which boosted the amount distributed yesterday to N580.378 billion.

Minister of State Finance, Ambassador Bashir Yuguda who is also the FAAC Chairman, told journalists at the end of the FAAC meeting that following the withdrawal, what is left in the ECA is now \$2.49 billion. He added that the imagined effect of the consequence of the crude oil price fall has really begun to take effect on Nigeria.

He spoke as states in Nigeria yesterday said following dwindling revenue from the Federation Account, they have begun strategizing on how to cut down on the cost of governance at their level, including the downward review of perks to political appointees and the abolition of food imports as a way of saving funds.

A Development Economist,

Mr. Odilim Enweagbara, asked the Federal and State Governments to tighten the noose round internal revenue generation leakages as a way of improving the country's revenue base.

While the states spoke through Mr. Timothy Odah who is the Chairman of States' Finance Commissioners' Forum at the FAAC Meeting, Mr. Enweagbara, who equally spoke in Abuja, was reacting to the country's worsening liquidity situation.

The Accountant General of the Federation (AGF) Mr. Jonah Otunla at the FAAC Meeting gave an insight into the oil revenue crash and the reason for the further withdrawal of funds from the ECA.

"The gross revenue of N490.031 billion received for the month of December was lower than the N500.076 billion received in the previous month by N10.045 billion. A 12 per cent drop in crude oil prices from \$87.8 million in October to \$77.5 million in November

leading to \$62.8 million in revenue loss and a 52 per cent loss in volume coupled with 31 per cent price drop culminating in a total revenue loss from the LPNG/NLG October sale all contributed negatively to the Federation Equity, Otunla said.

He continued: "The persistence of the Force Majeure declared by Shell since June, 2014 and the shut down and shut-in of trunks and pipelines at various terminals also impacted negatively on the revenue performance. Also, non-oil revenue dipped due partly to the fact that the timeline for the payment of taxes by many companies is yet to fall due.

"Accordingly, the distributable statutory revenue for the month is N474.400 billion. The sum of N6,330 billion was refunded by NNPC to the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN).

"Also, there is exchange gain again of N10.551 billion which is proposed for distribution. Additional amount of N15.631 billion from ECA is proposed

for distribution. The total revenue distributable for the current month including VAT is N580.378 billion".

A breakdown of the revenue distributed indicated that the Federal Government went home with the sum of N220.484 billion from the Statutory Revenue, representing its 52.68 per cent share and another sum of N10.579 billion from the VAT window; the States, N11.832 billion, representing their 26.72 per cent share of the statutory revenue and another N35.264 billion from the VAT revenue stream while the 774 local councils in the country are to share the sum of N86.218 billion of the Statutory Revenue, which represents their 20.60 per cent share under the revenue formula and another sum of N10.759 billion from VAT pool.

Oil-bearing communities also went home with the sum of N47.221 billion, representing 13 per cent of derivation principle.

Meanwhile, the Chairman of Finance Commissioner's Forum and Commissioner representing Ebonyi State at the FAAC, Mr.

Timothy Odah has declared that because of the dwindling revenue stream of income from the Federation Account, states are left with no option than to review perks attached to political appointees at that level as well as changing their consumption appetite as a strategy to remain afloat and carry out the function of gov-

## Ebonyi PDP Mobilizes Supporters For Jonathan

From Nnamdi Akpa, Abakaliki

THE Abakaliki Township Stadium was yesterday filled to the brim as men, women, youths and party chiefs in their thousands came out to give support to President Goodluck Jonathan and all People's Democratic Party (PDP) candidates in next month's general election.

The event stalled business activities in the state and also paralyzed vehicular and human movement as security operatives strove to ensure hitch-free rally. They barricaded all roads within the vicinity of the stadium.

However, a little drama took place during the rally as those inside the stadium booed Ebonyi State Governor Martin Elechi each time his name was mentioned and the pleas by the former governor of the state, Chief Sam Egwu to respect him fell on deaf ears as the booing continued.

In his speech, President Jonathan vowed to give more attention to the empowerment of women. He also assured that he would concentrate on youth development, as this would have a multiplier effect in the areas of security and protection of the future of the country.

He promised to improve the standard of education, health care facilities and agriculture by improving the quality and quantity of rice production which the state is known for.

His words: "In the past, votes might be have sold or bought, but that is not our interest. Women will be next attention as already exemplified in the 35 per cent affirmative action. I would have loved to see the first Nigeria's first female President before I die."

He noted that his administration has completed about five road projects, federal university and upgrading and taking over of the Ebonyi State University Teaching Hospital.

The president commended the PDP faithful in the state for their support and urged them to continue to support the PDP governorship flag bearer in the state, Engineer Dave Umahi as they support Governor Elechi.

Speakers at the event, including the National Chairman of PDP, Adamu Mu'azu; Secretary to Government of the Federation, Anyim Pius National Coordinator of PDP National Campaign Council and Chief Sam Egwu urged the people to vote in Jonathan and all PDP candidates in the elections.

## 227 Soldiers Protest Their Dismissal

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

State NUI Secretariat in Jos with placards, said they were unjustly dismissed without any known offence and without the benefit of fair hearing.

Leader of the protesting soldiers, Sergeant Abiona Elisha, said: "We were dismissed this week Tuesday from the service of the Nigerian Army after sending us to go and suffer fighting insurgency in Adamawa, Yobe and Borno states."

"All of a sudden, we were recalled to the barracks and made to face trial. Even at the trial, we were not given the chance to defend ourselves. They just took decision and dismissed us. We were not even told what were our offences during the so-called trial."

"We are surprised that we can be treated like this in our own country. We were sent to fight insurgents without weapons. A lot of our colleagues were killed in the course of defending our fatherland. Even those who are in hospitals treating injuries they sustained from battlefields were also dismissed while still on hospital admission."

"The worst situation is that families of our colleagues killed in Adamawa and Yobe are languishing in hunger as the Nigerian Army refused to pay their entitlements. So we are calling on President Goodluck Jonathan and the Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Lt. General Kenneth Minimah, to intervene in our case and reinstate us."

When contacted for comments, Deputy Director of the 3 Armoured Division Jos, Col. Texas Chukwu, said: "I am not aware of the development. I just returned from Yola on Tuesday. So I am not aware of anything."

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First Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and the celebrant, Chief Festus R.A. Marinho (right); Chairman, SAIPEN Nigeria Limited, Chief Bode Emmanuel; and Chief Michael Omoiyale at the 80th birthday symposium, titled, 'Nigeria's Energy Evolution- A glimpse at the future' in honour of Marinho in Lagos... yesterday.

PHOTO: FEMI ADEBESIN-KUTI

## PDP Won't Allow Desperate Politicians To Rule, Says Aliyu

From Isa Abdulsalami Ahovi, Jos

SENATE President David Mark and Niger State Governor, Babangida Aliyu yesterday said that the People's Democratic Party (PDP) would not allow desperate politicians to take over the affairs of the country this year, adding that the party would campaign hard and ensure victory for its candidates, so that they would continue the transformation of the country.

They also described those who left the PDP for the All Progressives Congress (APC) as selfish politicians who don't have the interest of the country at heart. They spoke in Mangu Council of Plateau State

during the official flag-off campaign for Senator Gyng Pwajok, the PDP gubernatorial candidate of Plateau State.

"In the PDP, we cannot succumb to cheap blackmail with people who can't play politics the way it is supposed to be played. The PDP has done a lot in transforming the country and would continue to do so. We are calling on the people of the state to come out en masse come February 14 to vote for President Goodluck Jonathan," Aliyu said.

Also speaking at the occasion, Benue State Governor, Gabriel Suswan, said the North Central Zone would ensure victory for President Jonathan at the polls. "We in the North Central are like a family and we would deliver our President," he said and urged people in the zone to forget about the propa-

da of the APC and work for the victory of the PDP.

He said: "Our presidential candidate, Goodluck Jonathan, has the interest of the country at heart and would continue transforming the nation if he is re-elected."

Mark, who was the chairman of the occasion, said the PDP would win with transparent votes in the forthcoming elections. "North Central is for President Jonathan and we will continue to support him and the party always," he said and cautioned youths against playing politics of violence. He implored them to get their Permanent Voters' Cards (PVCs) so that they won't be disenfranchised at the polls.

The gubernatorial candidate of the PDP in Plateau, Senator Gyng Pwajok, in his speech, called on people of the state to

work for victory of the PDP in the forthcoming elections.

He also tasked citizens of the state to always be their brothers' keepers regardless of tribe and religion and pledged to consolidate on the achievements of the state governor, Jonah Jang if elected.

The Director General of Pwajok Campaign Organisation, Mr. Daniel Kungmi, who also spoke at the occasion, said Plateau has been a traditional home of the PDP and would not afford to fail the party this time around.

"We would go from door to door to campaign for our party and ensure victory for President Goodluck Jonathan and Pwajok. We would ensure that we deliver President Goodluck Jonathan with over two million votes," he enthused.

A black and white photograph of a large group of students in a classroom. The students are arranged in many rows, filling the room. Many of the students in the front rows are wearing white shirts and dark trousers. They are holding books or papers, suggesting a recital or assembly. The room has a high ceiling and large windows in the background.

The choir and orchestra of Apostolic Faith Church during the 2014 Christmas concert in Lagos... yesterday.

# Military kills 115 *B' Haram* suspects in Borno State

- Recovers arms, vehicles
- Insurgents targeting the elderly

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

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**2015 ELECTIONS:**  
**Danger looms** — AKINYEMI  
*Writes Jonathan, Buhari; tasks*  
*Sultan, Ooni, Adeboye, Anyaoku* >8

**80 Boko Haram**  
**members, 2 soldiers**  
**killed in Borno** >9

**PDP PRESIDENTIAL FUND-RAISING:**

## Presidency, APC bicker over N21bn

- The money should be used to save power sector — APC
- APC not focused, says Presidency as Ikkoku, Sagay, Tsav, react

By Clifford  
Ndujihe, Henry  
Umoru, Dapo  
Akinrefon & Levinu  
Nwabughio

**ABUJA**—THE Presidency and groups backing the presidential aspiration of Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) were at each other's throats, yesterday, over the sum of N21.27b raised at the People's Democratic Party (PDP) presidential campaign fund-raising dinner.

The Buhari Support Organizations, BSO, the umbrella body of a support groups for the Presidential candidate of All Progressive Congress, APC in 2015 election, said that the

Continues on Page 5



**CHRISTMAS TRAVELLERS**—Christmas travellers waiting to board vehicles at Wazobia Park in Gwagwalada, Abuja, yesterday. Photo: NAN.

**Bulet Construction**  
**slams N100bn libel**  
**suit against Unity Bank** >15

**CBN introduces addi-**  
**tional measure to curb**  
**forex speculation** >21

**COLUMNISTS**

**Henry Boyo**

**Is de-**  
**industrialisation**  
**imminent?**

**People & Politics**  
**OCHEREOME**  
**ANANODIA**

**Those hawks**  
**circling Buhari**

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dadadekoia@yahoo.com  
08155200000

## Sunday Vanguard

## News

SONI DANIEL &  
LIVINUS  
NWABUGHIUGU

## Amid health concerns, Buhari jets out

Concerns were raised, last night, over the health status of the presidential candidate of the All Progressives Congress (APC), Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, following his planned trip to the United States of America towards the end of January.

Buhari is reported to have filed an online application for the United States of America Visa to enable him travel to the country around January 26 for medical scrutiny.

The application for the visa, it was learnt, instantly fueled speculations that Buhari had been weighed down by the strain of the campaigns which he had been undertaking in recent days, thereby requiring urgent medical attention in the foreign land.

His opponents argued that Buhari would not have sought to abandon his campaigns midway and travel abroad for medical attention if his health condition was not dire.

They contended that the general's failing health had become a serious concern to his handlers, who have, however, quietly managed the situation to avoid any damage to his candidature.

But in a shift response, Buhari dismissed the claims over his health as mere fabrication of lies by those afraid of his rising popularity among Nigerian voters.

While insisting that he was hale and hearty, Buhari, through his Campaign Director of Media and Publicity, Mallam Garba Shehu, asked Nigerians not to be distracted by the antics of desperate and unpopular candidates who were afraid of losing in a free and fair



APC presidential candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari, acknowledging cheers from party supporters in Lokaja, Kogi State during a rally. Photo by Joe Akinola.

contest. The media campaign director dismissed as a figment of the imagination of "wicked and evil persons," the rumour that Buhari may be travelling to the United States towards the end of this month for medical check up.

While dismissing the report as fabrications, however, he said that "as a prominent leader of the opposition, many interests across the globe want him (GMB) over for political and diplomatic consultations," adding that the "invitation to the US may not be unconnected to this."

Shehu also dismissed as fake and untenable a purported medical report from the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital showing that Buhari had been diagnosed of prostate cancer

by the institution. In a statement, he described the claim, said to have been credited to a 'renowned source in the hospital', as disdainful, distractive, mischievous, fake and fallacious.

The Buhari aide said, "It (report of cancer) is untrue and condescending of its exponents. I have it on good authority that GMB has not visited the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital in the last five years. So, how can anyone say that he was diagnosed with prostate cancer last October, barely three months ago?"

"This is the highest point of political distraction, malice and mischief. The report was not only fake but unfounded. I have spoken to impeccable sources at ABUTH all of whom deny the report and also claimed that the

letterhead used was not their regular one, and that Dr. Bala Mohammed that purportedly approved the false medical report is not on the personnel list of that department." Beside, Shehu said sources at ABUTH disclosed that medical report analysis only come from laboratory technologists and not medical

doctors as handwritten in this particular case", stressing that Buhari did not attend the hospital for cancer or any other ailment.

He restated its statement of Friday that Buhari is as fit as a fiddle.

The Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital (ABUTH) has discredited the purported report said to have emanated from the hospital to the effect that General Muhammadu Buhari is stricken with cancer," the APC Presidential Campaign Organisation has said.

MEANWHILE, there is a groundswell of opposition from Nigerians in the Diaspora against the candidature of Buhari in the February 14 presidential election.

The opposition against the former military ruler is being championed by the United States chapter of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO), the flagship association of Nigerians living abroad.

Speaking at a press conference held at the Hilton Garden, Washington DC, Hon. Victor Ugho, the immediate past Vice-President of NIDO, who is the current President of the Georgia State chapter of the association with

headquarters in Atlanta, urged the former Head of State to perish the thought of becoming the next president of the country, saying that the world has moved past the likes of Buhari.

Ugho regretted that Buhari has allowed himself to be pushed around by some people whom, he said, were looking for ways to cause more pains to Nigeria. He noted that Buhari, as Head of State, had ample opportunity to turn the country around, stressing that, "as a matter of sincerity, I do not think Buhari is the best candidate for Nigeria at this period in time. He was there as Head of State, what did he do?"

"Again, he has not told us what he is going to do differently. We need continuity; the choice should not be based on tribal sentiment. Let him tell us how he is going to fix the so-called terrible situation he has identified. We need somebody who will not bring disunity."

Also speaking, the Public Relations Officer of NIDO, Mr. Ndubusi George called on Nigerians at home and in the Diaspora to think wisely and vote for the right candidate in next month's election.

## Tinubu pacifies aggrieved 241 Lagos House aspirants

The National Leader of the All Progressives Congress, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, has pacified aggrieved Lagos State House of Assembly aspirants who failed to secure the ticket of the party during the primaries, assuring them that the party is large enough to take care of their respective interests. Tinubu, who met with them at his house in Ikoyi,

charged all the 241 aspirants to get involved at different stages of the campaign activities from their various constituencies to the national level.

The secretary of the forum, Dr. Ibrahim Gazeem, from Somolu constituency 2 assured the National Leader of their readiness to ensure victory for the party at different levels of the election in February.

Meanwhile, Tayo Ayinde,

one of the Lagos governorship aspirants, has reiterated his commitment to the aspiration of APC governorship candidate in the state, Mr. Akinwumi Ambode, to emerge winner at the poll slated for February 28.

Ayinde donated election materials and sponsored some campaign songs branded for Ambode to boost his electioneering campaign in the state.

## THOUGHT FOR TODAY

## WRITE DOWN YOUR VISION —2

By Richard Eromonsele

Now, this is a New Year. Examine your life. The things you set out to do last year, have you achieved them? How many of them have you achieved? If you want to be truthful to yourself, you will realize that very little or not much has been achieved. Then, why is it so? The first reason why you did not achieve much last year as you propose is your failure and or refusal to write down what you intend to achieve for the year...



## Jonathan, Sambo's qualifications too weak to effect change — Fashola

MONSURU  
OLOWOPEJO

Governor Babatundé Fashola of Lagos State, yesterday, said President Goodluck Jonathan's and his Vice, Namadi Sambo's high academic qualifications have not reflected in the policies they introduced since they assumed office, saying, "We need someone who could address our challenges."

Fashola, who made the statement at the All Progressives Party, APC, rally held in Ikorodu, lamented that the country has failed to progress despite their high academic qualifications.

"We prayed that if we have someone who has degree, he will be able to develop the country. And when the current president, a Ph.D holder, assumed office, we rejected that the country will improve. Rather than implement policies that would improve the standard of living of the citizens, we were having regression," he said. "Also, his Vice-President is an architect but he cannot construct roads. But it is sad that a lawyer is the Commissioner for Works in Edo State and he has

constructed several roads. In Ogun State, the Commissioner for Works is an architect and he has built several roads."

"So, let's ask Sambo, the Vice President what has he done for the nation since he assumed office. All he (Sambo) could do was to inform the President that people are leaving Lagos because of tax regime. And I want everyone to ask the Vice President if the number of vehicles coming into Lagos has reduced."

Fashola noted that lack of governance experience exhibited by the President and his Vice could also be seen in all the candidates presented by the People's Democratic Party, PDP, for the 2015 elections.

He said, "For instance, their governorship candidate in Lagos State, Mr. Jimi Agbaje, is displaying his inexperience and ignorance on government budget with his recent comment on budget allocation for education in Lagos."

Agbaje had at the third edition of the gubernatorial debate organised by the Diocese of Lagos West,

Anglican Communion (Church of Nigeria), Ikeja said that state government spends three percent of its budget on primary education.

He continued: "With this comment, he does not have knowledge on finance issues. If he listened to my budget speech, I said that we

increased budget for education from 15 percent to 10.8 percent. I also explained that the 10.8 percent is not the entire budget for education."

But funds for some of the education programmes were left with the ministry that was saddled with such responsibility in the state."

## 2015: We won't allow the opposition to rig us out—Mark

BY JOHN BOSCO  
AGBAKWURU, Abuja

The Senate President, Senator David Mark, has told members of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to work hard in order to guarantee victory at the various stages of the February elections.

The Senate President also assured that the PDP would win the elections convincingly and would not allow the opposition parties to rig it out.

Senator Mark said: "We want to win convincingly at all levels. There will be no room for any manipulation. We as members of the PDP will not rig. We will not allow opposition parties to rig us out."

We have enough evidence to show to the electorate why the PDP remain the preferred choice in 2015."

Addressing PDP stakeholders from the North Central Zone in Abuja, yesterday, he advised anybody or political party planning electoral malpractices to think otherwise, adding, "we are committed to free, fair, credible, and acceptable elections."

Mark, however, told his party members not to take anything for granted just as he stressed the need for them to strategize and reach out to the electorate ahead of the polls.

## Insecurity, corruption, major problems — Buhari

SUCCESS NWOGU

**T**HE presidential candidate of the All Progressives Congress, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, has identified insecurity, corruption and mismanagement of economy as the major developmental challenges of Nigeria.

He also warned Nigerians not to re-elect President Goodluck Jonathan and the Peoples Democratic Party government at all levels, saying the continuation of the PDP government would continue to ruin Nigeria as a country and the people.

He spoke on Saturday at the Metropolitan Square Ilorin, the Kwara State capital during the continuation of the APC presidential campaign.

The plane conveying Buhari and his running mate, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, landed at the Ilorin International Airport, about 10:45am. It took Buhari's convoy about two hours to arrive at the Emir's palace, a distance of less than five kilometres because of the crowd that surged to welcome him and his entourage.

The APC national and state leaders at the presidential campaign rally included a national leader of APC, Bola Tinubu; a former APC national Chairman, Chief Bisi Akande; the Director-General, Buhari Campaign Organisation, Mr. Rotimi Amaechi who is also the Governor of Rivers State; Governor of Osun State, Rauf Aregbesola; a former Kogi State Governor, Abubakar Audu; a former Governor of Kwara State, Dr. Bukola Saraki; the Governor of Kwara State, Abdulfatah Ahmed; a former acting National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party and currently a chieftain of the APC, Kavui Baraje; the Speaker, Kwara State House of Assembly, Mr. Razaq Atunwa and the Chairman, House of Representatives Committee on Justice, Dr. Ali Ahmad.

The occasion was also

### POLETHICS

used to present the party's flag to Ahmed as the Kwara State APC governorship candidate.

Buhari stated the PDP had mismanaged the resources of Nigeria, saying that the APC government would address the developmental challenges of the country if elected into power.

He said the government would provide qualitative and quantitative education, address power challenge and insecurity; as well

as fight corruption. He also promised that the government would tackle mass unemployment through emphasis on agriculture and small and medium enterprises development.

Buhari said, "The major issues of the country are insecurity, issues with economy and corruption. What we save from corruption and leakages, we will invest heavily in education, infrastructure, equipment and teachers. The best we can do for our generation and future

generation is to give them qualitative and quantitative education. An APC government through-out the country definitely will do that."

Osinbajo said February 14, 2015 was a day of destiny, adding that it was not surprising that some people would want to hamper the change.

He said, "The reason our country is poor is because some people have chosen to steal the resources that we have. You can have posterity, good education, good health care, good hospitals, when

some people are stealing the money. That is the reason why we are poor and why we are facing what we are facing."

Tinubu accused President Goodluck Jonathan's administration of being very wicked, saying, "The administration collected money from job seekers for form; again, they said the jobless people should buy jerseys and t-shirts we give you free of charge. Instead of the people get employed it was death that struck at many of the job seekers homestead."

## Jonathan'll defeat Buhari, Fayose tells US envoy

KAMARUDEEN OGUNDELE and BAYO AKINLOYE

**T**HE Ekiti State Governor, Mr. Ayo Fayose, has boasted that the Peoples Democratic Party's candidate in the February 14 presidential election, President Goodluck Jonathan, will win the election convincingly.

He also said the All Progressives Congress will not win any seat in the state and National Assembly elections in the state.

Fayose, according to a statement by his Chief Press Secretary, Idowu Adelusi, on Saturday spoke while receiving a team of American diplomats in his office.

The Americans were led by the United States Consul General in Lagos, Mr. Jeffrey Hawkins.

Fayose, who stated that the state witnessed a peaceful poll last year during the governorship election, expressed confidence that the standard would not be lower.

The governor said Jonathan would defeat his main challenger, the APC candidate General Muhammadu Buhari (retd.) because Nigeria was safe with Jonathan.

He told his guests the controversial advertorial he placed in two papers last month was not a death wish but meant "to appeal to sense of reasoning to prevent episode of 2010 when the National Assembly had to invoke Doctrine of Necessity."

He reiterated that he had no apology for sponsoring the advert, adding that it was his personal opinion and not that of the PDP.

In his remarks, Hawkins said the unity of Nigeria should be paramount in the minds of politicians.

He decried the tension in the polity, saying elections should not be seen as war.

Hawkins added that the United States was interested in smooth transition and election in Nigeria.

The Peoples Democratic Party has boasted that its presidential candidate in the February 14 poll, President Goodluck Jonathan, will defeat the All Progressives Congress presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari in the North.

The party also claimed that the President would win more than two-third of the total votes cast as well as the required 25 per cent in all the states of the federation.

The PDP National Publicity Secretary, Olu Metuh, in a statement issued on Saturday said President Jonathan would beat Buhari in the North not only because the party controls 12 out of the 19 states of the region but also because the citizens are pleased with the numerous development projects Jonathan executed in the region.



An accident scene in Ado, Nasarawa State... on Saturday. Photo: NAN

## Nigerian military guilty of rights violations — HRW

BAYO AKINLOYE

### ADVOCACY

**T**HE international rights group, Human Rights Watch, has alleged in its latest report released on Friday that the Nigerian military is guilty of rights abuses against people suspected to be Boko Haram members.

The HRW also accused the Federal Government for failing to provide the military with needed motivation.

The HRW, founded in 1978, was established to defend the rights of people worldwide.

In the report entitled, "Tyranny's false comfort: Why rights aren't wrong in tough times", the group's Executive Director, Kenneth Roth, noted that human rights concerns were central to the conflict in Nigeria, where the militant Islamist group Boko

Haram attacks civilians as well as the country's security forces.

Roth said, "Oil-rich Nigeria should be able to field a professional, rights-respecting army capable of protecting Nigerians from this abusive group. However, the country's leadership has left its military ill-equipped and poorly motivated to defend against Boko Haram attacks. When the army has acted, it has often done so in

an abusive manner, rounding up hundreds of men and boys suspected of supporting Boko Haram, detaining them in inhuman conditions, and physically abusing or even killing them."

"Many other community members have been forcibly disappeared, allegedly by security forces. When Boko Haram suspects escaped in March from a famously abusive detention centre, Giva Barracks, Nigerian security forces reportedly recaptured and summarily executed hundreds of them."

The HRW boss further alleged that the persistent lack of accountability for these atrocities had made it difficult for Nigeria's allies to provide security assistance for fear of themselves becoming complicit in abuses.

"The failure of Nigeria's leadership to rein in security forces has also alienated local communities that might otherwise have willingly provided intelligence to the authorities. Winning the hearts and minds of the civilian population will require that the government transparently investigates alleged army abuses and punish offenders," he said.

## Oil marketers keep kerosene price high

STANLEY OPARA

**D**ESPITE falling oil prices and the declining cost of Dual Purpose Kerosene in the global market, oil marketers in the country have reinforced their cartel with the motive to maintain the high price Nigerians pay for the product.

With oil prices dropping by over 60 per cent from above \$120 per barrel to less than \$50 per barrel, oil marketers in Nigeria have refused to move with the trend even after the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation announced it was sticking to N50 per litre of kerosene.

Eleven filling stations,

### ECONOMY

comprising members of the Major Oil Marketers Association of Nigeria and Independent Petroleum Marketers Association of Nigeria, visited by our correspondent in Ikeja, Lagos on Wednesday and Thursday still sold the product between N120 and N150 per litre.

The Executive Secretary, Major Oil Marketers Association of Nigeria, Mr. Ferni Olawore, told our correspondent that the NNPC had been the sole importer of kerosene.

According to him, major oil marketers did not import

the product, and did not collect subsidy payment for DPK.

The Director, Department of Petroleum Resources, Mr. George Osahon, had described the situation as disturbing, and warned marketers to desist from such an act, as the agency would sanction any retail outlet caught selling kerosene above the approved price.

But amid these threats by the DPR, oil marketers have continued to sell DPK for above N100.

The corporation said in a bid to get kerosene to consumers across the 36 states of the federation and

the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, at the regulated price of N50 per litre, it had initiated a scheme aimed at cutting off the several layers of middlemen who made it difficult for the end user to enjoy the subsidy on the product.

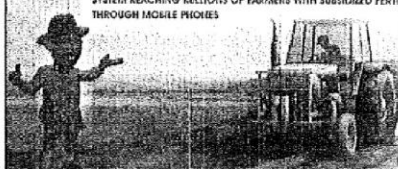
Speaking on the objective of the 'Kero Correct' initiative, the Executive Director Commercial of the Pipeline and Products Marketing Company, Mr. Frank Amegor, explained that the scheme was aimed at getting kerosene to the Nigerian masses who use the product as their domestic cooking fuel at the correct price.



**Jonathan's biggest economic mistakes**  
—Pat Utomi Pg. 14 & 15

**My life as a governor's wife**  
—Mrs. Fashola Pg. 17

**AGRICULTURE**  
THE VALUE OF RICE IMPORTED AS AT 2011 WAS N500 BILLION ANNUALLY. BUT SINCE 2013 WITH THE JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION PROVIDING LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION, NIGERIA HAS ACHIEVED UNPRECEDENTED 60% SUFFICIENCY IN RICE PRODUCTION, WHICH ACCORDING TO THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION (FAO) IS CAPABLE OF RAISING WORLD RICE OUTPUT TO A RECORD HIGH WITHIN A YEAR. 2.2 MILLION JOBS CREATED IN 2012 AND EARLY 2013 UNDER THE AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AGENDA. E-WALLET SYSTEM REACHING MILLIONS OF FARMERS WITH SUBSIDIZED FERTILISERS THROUGH MOBILE PHONES.



# Sunday PUNCH

THE MOST WIDELY READ NEWSPAPER

**Poll postponement: APC, others seek UN pressure on Jonathan** Pg. 2

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## JONATHAN KADUNA RALLY

# Police chase pro-Buhari crowd out of stadium

Pgs. 2

•Parties pay supporters N2,000 each to attend rally



**ROWDY RALLY:** Stampede at the All Progressives Congress presidential campaign rally held at the Teslim Balogun Stadium, Lagos...on Friday. Photos:



**Why Afenifere endorsed Jonathan**  
—Adebajo Pg. 7

**Iran offers to help Nigeria fight Boko Haram** Pg. 4

**Certificate controversy: Buhari must clear his name, says PDP** Pg. 6





**Obama, Cameron, others praise Buhari, Jonathan, Jega** Page 12

**Police shut Ekiti Assembly as APC lawmakers resume** Page 14



# The PUNCH

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**Stock market soars on Buhari's victory**

• Naira gains 7%, now 211 to dollar

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N150

## Jonathan has nothing to fear, says Buhari

Page 2

• President-elect vows to tackle corruption, B'Haram

**15 things you didn't know about Buhari — P. 4**



• President-elect, Muhammadu Buhari (right) and Vice-President-elect, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, displaying their certificates of return in Abuja ... on Wednesday. Photo: Olatunji Obasa

**PDP to challenge President-elect's victory** Page 14

**Nigerian passengers condemn Delta Airlines over flight hitches** Page 44

**Fire guts Lagos airport, Balogun market** Pages 4 & 5



# The Guardian

Conscience, Nurtured by Truth

Vol. 31, No. 13,312

Wednesday, June 10, 2015

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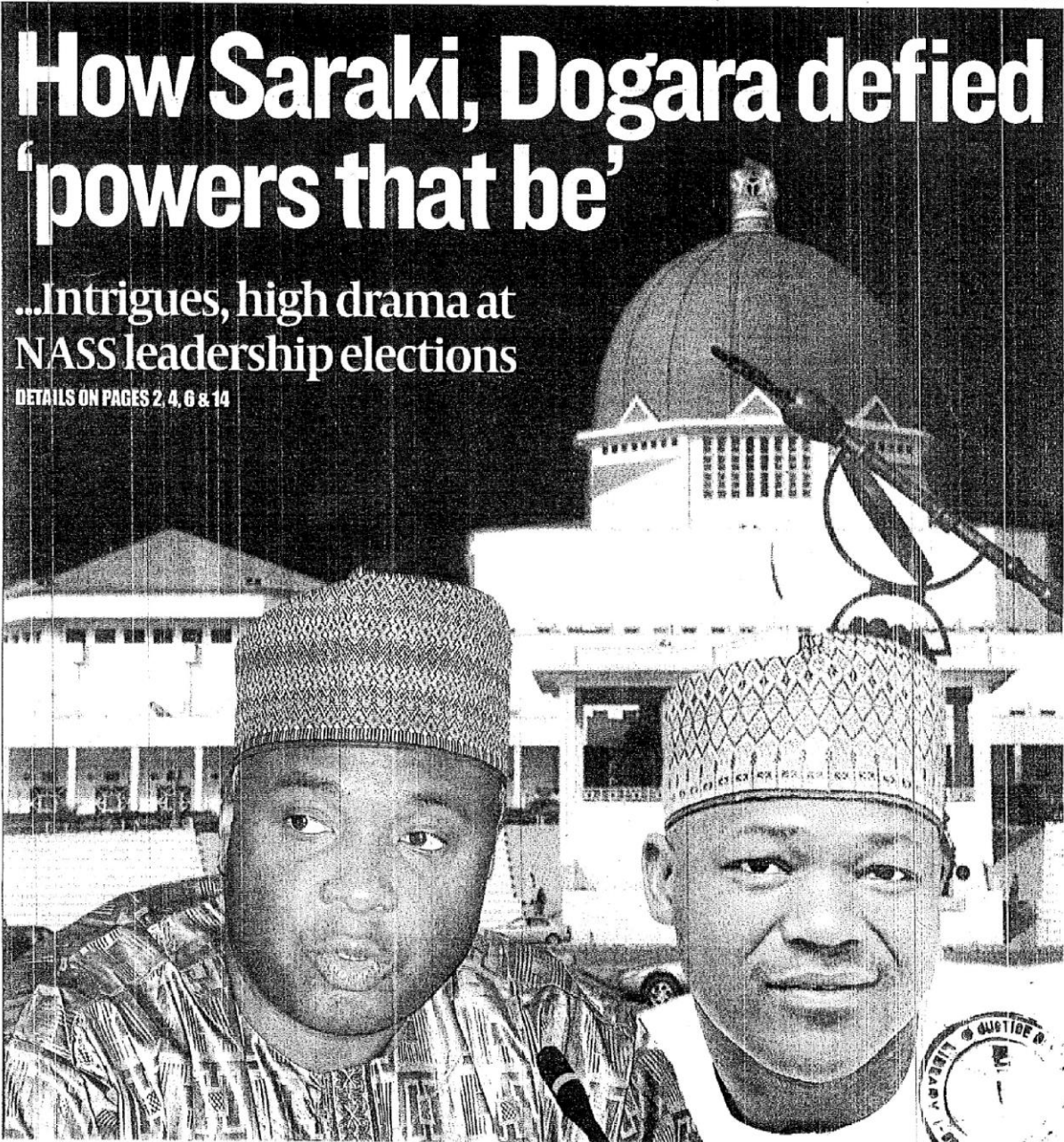
TheGuardian Nigeria

N150

## How Saraki, Dogara defied 'powers that be'

...Intrigues, high drama at NASS leadership elections

DETAILS ON PAGES 2, 4, 6 & 14



...DAY 422

**BRING  
BACK  
OUR GIRLS**

### NEWSNOTES

**Explosion rocks NNPC pipeline as vandals destroy facility**

An explosion yesterday rocked the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) pipeline at Ibe Ododo area of Lagos, after suspected vandals punctured the facility. **Page 3**

**Buhari, PDP okay Saraki, Dogara, APC rejects winners**

THE emergence yesterday of new leaders of the National Assembly has elicited mixed reactions from President Muhammadu Buhari, All Progressives Congress (APC) and the opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). **Page 8**

**Firm decries N3.5b debt owed SMEs by three tiers of govt**

A BUSINESS consulting firm, CIP International, yesterday condemned the N3.5 billion debt owed Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in Nigeria by various arms of government. **Page 7**

36,37, Kade



## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LEADERSHIP ELECTIONS

## Intrigues, high drama at N'Assembly leadership elections

By Niyi Bello, Azimazi Jimoh and Bridget Chiedu-Onochie

**T**he intrigues, suspense and denouement surrounding the election of the National Assembly leadership yesterday could qualify as the hand-

work of a master storyteller.

Many predictions fell flat, pundits theorised only to wonder how they read it so wrongly though, a few got it right.

But the high drama finds summary in the fact that

Senator Bukola Saraki, former Governor of Kwara State who represents Kwara Central on the ticket of the All Progressives Congress (APC), was elected Senate President by 57 of his colleagues out of 108 while for Speaker of the

House of Representatives, Yakubu Dogara, dark horse from Bauchi defeated the more-favoured Femi Gbajabiamila from Lagos State with eight votes.

As it happened in 2011 when the PDP could not get its members in the low-

er chamber to elect Mulikat Adeola Akande as the Speaker in an election that threw up Aminu Tambuwal in a horse-trading that signaled the beginning of revolt in the party, the ruling APC failed to have its way in the choice of the

leadership of the parliament.

Expectedly, the APC has faulted the process while the PDP, basking in a new-found glory that would define role as an opposition platform, welcomed the development.

## How Bukola Saraki defied 'powers that be'

From Azimazi Jimoh and Bridget Chiedu-Onochie, Abuja

**Y**ESTERDAY'S activities began with the reading of President Muhammadu Buhari's proclamation by the Clerk of National Assembly (CNA), Abubakar Salisu Maikasuwa.

The CNA then ordered the Clerk of the Senate to take the role call of Senators-elect present; at the end of which 57 Senators responded to their names. The number also passed for quorum, which was required for the exercise.

Before further exercise, the CNA cautioned all Senators-elect against raising any Point of Order in the course of events. This reaction may have been prompted by an attempt by a Senator-elect to call the Clerk's attention to the fact that some Senators-elect were not in the chamber.

Shortly afterwards, the Clerk called for nominations for the post of Senate President. Senator Bukola Saraki of North Central was nominated by Senator Ahmed Sani Yerima of Zamfara State. His nomination was seconded by Dino Melaye of Kogi West. The Clerk quickly called on Saraki to either accept or decline the nomination—a call that was quickly heeded by Saraki in affirmation. The Clerk then called for another nomination. But there was absolute silence on the

floor of the Senate as no other nomination was made.

Then Maikasuwa returned Saraki opposed.

For the position of Deputy Senate President, Senator-elect, Ike Ekweremadu was nominated by Senator-elect, George Sekibo and seconded by Olaka Nwogu of Rivers State.

Senator-elect Ali Ndume was also nominated for the same position of the Deputy Senate President.

After the acceptance of nominations by the two candidates, voting was conducted by secret ballot. At the end of the exercise that lasted about one hour, Ekweremadu emerged winner with 54 votes. Ali Ndume scored 20 votes. One abstained. A total of 75 senators-elect took part in the election of the deputy Senate President.

Consequently, both the Senate President and his deputy were sworn in by the Clerk of the National Assembly. Events leading to the emergence of Saraki as the President of the Eighth Senate could be said to have started early in the morning with a scheduled meeting of APC senators.

They were said to have gathered at the International Conference Centre where they were expecting Mr. President to wade into the issue of Senate leadership, which appeared to have divided the party.



Clerk of the National Assembly, Salisu Maikasuwa (right) swearing-in the Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu at the inauguration of the eighth National Assembly in Abuja... yesterday.

## Dogara emerges Reps Speaker as PDP pulls rug off APC's feet

From Adamu Abuh, Terhemba Daka, Abuja

**A**Gainst all expectations, Hon Yakubu Dogara representing Bogoro/Dass/Tafawa Balewa Federal Constituency of Bauchi state yesterday emerged the seventh Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Clerk of the National Assembly (CNA) Alhaji Salisu Maikasuwa declared Dogara winner after he scored 182 votes to defeat Mr Femi Gbajabiamila who got 174 votes in the keenly contested race.

Two votes were voided. At exactly 4.40 pm, the CNA administered the oath of office on Dogara, flanked by one of his ardent supporters, Mr Abdulmumin Jibrin from Kano state. He then took his exalted seat and exchange handshake with a handful of his supporters, including Nnena Elendu Ukeje, a PDP member from Abia state who walked up to felicitate with him over his stunning victory.

Block votes from the 140 members of the House coupled with about split votes from among the 213 members in the House was all that sealed the fate of Gbajabiamila who was controversially the preferred candidate of the ruling All progressive congress (APC). The outcome of the poll conducted peacefully sent shock waves into the camp

of Gbajabiamila who must have pondered over what must have suddenly swung support to Dogara who until the emergence of Bukola Saraki as Senate President yesterday had an unrealistic chance of coasting home to victory.

In the spirit of sportsmanship, Gbajabiamila walked up to embrace Dogara in an apparent show of support and solidarity notwithstanding their differences in the build up to the election on the floor of the House of Representatives. As early as 6 a.m, yesterday, security personnel restricted both vehicular and human movement into the national Assembly complex. With the exception of the lawmakers and their guests, virtually all those accredited, including journalists were forced to make the long trek from the federal secretariat complex to the gates leading to the foyer of the national Assembly complex.

At about 10.30 am, the over 140 PDP lawmakers, in conjunction with some of their APC counterpart who are believed to be on Dogara's side erupted in a wild celebration when news filtered into the green chamber that Senator Bukola Saraki had emerged the Senate president.

In spite of the fact that Gbajabiamila arrived the cham-

ber at about 11 am with less fanfare, lawmakers on both sides of the divide electrified the chamber freely hailed the candidates of their choice chanting on top of their voices "Sai Gbajabiamila", "sai Dogara".

When Dogara decked in a white agbada stepped into the chamber at 11.15 am majestically, the chants of "Sai Gbajabiamila", "Sai Dogara" was deafening to the extent that it became difficult to hazard a guess whose direction the pendulum will swing to. PDP members in the house were at it again at about 11.20am as they erupted in another round of celebration on hearing the news of the election of Ike Ekweremadu as deputy Senate President, a fellow PDP member in the upper legislative chamber. Then the real business of the day commenced at about 11.45 am, after the Clerk of the national Assembly (CNA), Alhaji Salisu Abubakar Maikasuwa decked in a wig and gown robes walked in briskly to superintend the affairs of the day.

Former speaker of the House of Representatives, Ghali Umar Na'Abba, immediate past House leader, Mulikat Adeola Akande were among dignitaries in attendance watching proceedings.

After initial difficulties in separating members of the

house from dozens of invitees that swarmed the chamber, the CNA formally inaugurated the House of Representatives on behalf of President Muhammadu Buhari in line with constitutional provision.

Once the first session of the 8th national Assembly commenced, the CNA subsequently conducted a roll call of members of the House on a state by state basis. 358 members were present. Then moments later, Abdulmumin Jibrin (Bebeji, Kano), in line with section 60 of the constitution, order 2 rule 4 of standing rules of the house of representatives nominated Yakubu Dogara. Jibrin caused a stir when he drew the attention of his colleagues that consequences might await Dogara for defying the position of the APC which preferred Gbajabiamila to stand for the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Dogara wasted no time in accepting his nomination as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

It was Gbajabiamila's time as he was nominated by Alhaji Mohammed Sani Abdu (APC: Bauchi) nominates Gbajabiamila. Mr Shuaibu Philip (APC: Edo) seconded his nomination.

At 1.15 pm, Gbajabiamila accepted the nomination

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

**CHANGE OF NAME**  
ANYICHIE: Formerly Miss Sandra Nwando Anyichie now Mrs Stephanie Nwando Bishop. All documents remain valid. General public note.

**CHANGE OF NAME**  
BABATUNDE: Formerly Ebenezer Olusola Ademola Babatunde now Ebenezer Olusola Bishop. All documents remain valid. General public note.

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## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LEADERSHIP ELECTIONS

## Buhari, PDP okay Saraki, Dogara, APC rejects winners

From Mohammed Abubakar and Adimu Abu (Abuja)

**T**he emergence yesterday of new leaders of the National Assembly has elicited mixed reactions from President Muhammadu Buhari, All Progressives Congress (APC) and the opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

A statement issued by Buhari's Special Adviser (Media and Publicity), Femi Adesina said the president "would rather that the process of electing the leaders as initiated and concluded by the APC had been followed. Nonetheless the President took the view that a constitutional process has somewhat occurred."

According to Adesina, "President Buhari had said in an earlier statement that he did not have any preferred candidate for the Senate and the House of Representatives, and that he was willing to work with whoever the lawmakers elected. That sentiment still stands. Though he would have preferred the new leaders to have emerged through the process established by the party, Adesina stressed that the stability of our constitutional order and overall interest of the common man were paramount on the President's mind, as far as the National Assembly elections were concerned."

But Buhari's party, APC, is mulling a punitive action against the newly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, Yakubu Dogara, and the new Senate President, Bukola Saraki for allegedly defying its order not to contest for the leadership

of the National Assembly. In a statement by the party's spokesman, Alhaji Lai Mohammed yesterday, APC described as totally unacceptable and the highest level of indiscipline and treachery the conduct of Saraki and Dogara. The party hinted that it will not lie the matter low as it would consider punitive action against the duo.

"Senator Bukola and Hon. Dogara are not the candidates of the APC and a majority of its National Assembly members-elect for the positions of Senate President and House Speaker. The party duly met and conducted a straw poll and clear candidates emerged for the posts of Senate President, Deputy Senate President and Speaker of the House of Representatives, supported by a majority of all Senators-elect and members-elect of the House of Representatives. All National Assembly members-elect who emerged on the platform of the party are bound by that decision. The party is supreme and its interest is superior to that of its individual members."

"Consequently, the APC leadership is meeting in a bid to reestablish discipline in the party and to mete out the necessary sanctions to all those involved in what is nothing but a monumental act of indiscipline and betrayal to subject the party to ridicule and create obstacles for the new administration," APC said.

The party decried "a situation in which some people, based on nothing but inordinate ambition and lack of discipline and loyalty, will enter into an unholy alliance

with the very same people whom the party and indeed the entire country worked hard to replace and sell out the hard won victory of the Party."

"There can be no higher level of treachery, disloyalty and insincerity within any party," the party said, vowing to resolve the matter using all constitutional and legal means available to it.

Meanwhile, the PDP has congratulated Saraki, his Deputy, Senator Ike Ekweremadu as well as the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, Dogara, noting that their elections under-

score the fact that no section of the country should be neglected on national issues.

PDP National Publicity Secretary, Chief Olisa Metuh, in a statement yesterday described the development in both chambers of the National Assembly as "victory for democracy and triumph of the time-honored value of the PDP that every zone and segment of the country must at all times be given a sense of belonging in governance."

The PDP assured that it would

continue to partner with like minds in other political parties and groups to ensure that the nation's democracy, which it nurtured in the last 16 years, is sustained in the overall interest of the Nigerian people. "What is paramount to the PDP

is the sustenance of our democracy and the wellbeing of our people, irrespective of creed, class or ethnicity. The PDP is therefore willing and ready to partner with like-minded individuals in other political parties and groups to sustain our democracy, ensure good

governance and promote the unity and stability of our dear nation. Nigeria as a nation belongs to all of us. Its interest therefore must be put over and above personal, partisan or group interests at all times," the opposition party said.

The statement also commended the PDP Acting National Chairman, Prince Uche Secondus for successfully galvanizing PDP members in both chambers of the National Assembly, which contributed to the peaceful conduct of the elections.



Lai Mohammed



Metuh

## Dogara emerges Reps Speaker as PDP pulls rug off APC's feet

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

"with a great sense of humility to be Speaker of the House of Representatives. Moments after the clerk of the House, Mr Sani Olomolori declared at about 1.20pm

that election shall be by secret ballot in accordance with the rules of the House, duly authenticated ballot papers were distributed to members who were instructed to vote and cast their ballot in a transparent

box openly displayed for all to see. Voting effectively started 1.20pm and ended 3.32 pm. before aides to the clerk of the House sorted them in an orderly manner. Dogara who represents Boro/Dass/Tafawa-Balewa

Federal Constituency, Bauchi state was as born on 26 December, 1967. Aged 48 years old, he is from Boro Local Government Area of Bauchi state North East Nigeria. He is married with two children. He attended Gwarangah Primary School, Bauchi state from 1976-1982. He had his secondary education at Bauchi Teachers' College, Bauchi state where he obtained Grade II Teachers' Certificate. From there he proceeded to University of Jos, Plateau state where he obtained Bachelor of Laws, LLB (Hons), and graduated with Second Class Honours, Upper Division. From 1992 to 1993, he attended the Nigerian Law School Lagos, after

which he was called to the Nigerian Bar in 1993. He then proceeded to the Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom where he obtained LL.M (Masters) in International Commercial Law.

On his aspiration, his supporters insist he deserve the coveted seat since his north east geo-political zone had been marginalized after 2007-2011 when the North East produced Deputy Speaker Usman Bayero Nafada from Gombe state.

Those backing his bid argue that a vote and support for Dogara is a vote and support for stability, accountability, credibility and integrity. Is a vote for the enthronement of purposeful and visionary leadership in the House. They contended thus: "The North East was left with nothing in both Senate and House of Representatives. The region is the third most populous zone in Nigeria af-

ter North West and South West. The region has the highest number of minority tribes who have always been schemed out and marginalized. The Boko Haram insurgency is still raging and has devastated the region. In the just concluded Presidential and National Assembly elections, the North East produced the second highest number of votes for the APC and second highest number of Federal lawmakers

for the party. There is therefore the need to compensate the region adequately in the incoming government for the sacrifices it continued to do for the unity, stability and indivisibility of Nigeria. Dogara is described as an embodiment of knowledge, he is intelligent, brilliant, widely read, widely travelled, highly experienced in Law and has 22 years experience of law practice.

## The man Saraki

**B**UKOLA Saraki, the new President of the Senate of Nigeria, represents Kwara Central Senatorial district, Kwara State. Born December 19, 1962. He attended Corona School, Victoria Island, Lagos 1972. King College 1978. Cheltenham College, UK 1981.

London Hospital Medical College, London 1987. He worked as a Medical Officer at Rush Green Hospital, Essex, from 1988 to 1989. He was a Director of Societe Generale Bank (Nig) Ltd from 1990 to 2000. He was appointed special assistant to the President

Obasanjo on Budget in 2000. He served two terms in office as governor of Kwara State 2003/2007-2011. Won senatorial Seat or Kwara Central in April 2011. While holding this position, he initiated the Fiscal Responsibility Bill and served on the Economic Policy Coordination Committee. He was reelected in the March 2015. He was the Chairman of the Nigeria Governors Forum 2007. He was a presidential aspirant in 2011. His father Olusola Saraki was a former senator of Kwara State.

## The man Dogara

**H**ONOURABLE Yakubu Dogara represents Boro/Dass/Tafawa-Balewa Federal Constituency in Bauchi State. He is 47 years old. Mr. Dogara was the chairman House Services Committee during the seventh Assembly. He polled 182 votes against Hon. Gbajabiamila's who represents Surulere Federal

Constituency, Lagos State with 174 votes. He attended Bauchi Teachers College, 1987. Attended University of Jos, 1992. Attended Robert Gordon University Aberdeen, UK, 2003. His legislative interest includes regulation of monopolies, education, labour issues and human rights.



## BVN DEADLINE: Customers in last minute rush as CBN, banks meet tomorrow

# FG probes N3.8trn missing oil funds

By Emmanuel Aziken, Political Editor & Ben Agande

**A**BUJA—A PANEL of four governors was, yesterday, constituted to probe the affairs of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, NNPC, following revelations that the corporation withheld N3.8 trillion of the N8.1 trillion generated from oil receipts.

The committee comprising governors of Gombe, Edo, Akwa Ibom and Kaduna states is also to unravel circumstances of the disappearance of another \$2.1 billion which was allegedly unilaterally withdrawn by the Goodluck Jonathan

Continues on Page 5

- AS Presidency, NEC set up four govs probe committee
- Probes another \$2.1bn withdrawn in last 6 months of Jonathan's govt
- Why Jonathan left "empty treasury"—Ex-Special Adviser
- Find money to pay your workers, Buhari tells govs

## LAST MINUTE RUSH FOR BVN REGISTRATION



**BVN RUSH**—Bank customers struggle to meet today's deadline for Bank Verification Number (BVN) nationwide. Photos: Abayomi Adeshida and Bunu Azeez.

**Zenith, FirstBank, GTbank, 6 others make top 1000 Global Banks list**

>> 9

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**NIGER DELTA VOICE**

CRUDE OIL BUSINESS: Soldiers on rampage in Delta

See Inside

**COLUMNIST: Uche Onyebadi**



Now, Mary can marry Maria anywhere in US

P.33

**ALLEGED FUNDING BY OIL BARONS: Saraki, Dogara tackle ex-APC chairman, Akande**

>> 55



**APC insists on Ekweremadu's removal** Page 2

**Explosions at Agip facility halt 20,000bpd oil production** Page 32

**President urges govs to pay outstanding salaries** Page 3



• Buhari

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**Chibok girls forced to fight for B'Haram**  
-Witnesses Pages 3 & 12  
• 23 policemen to face trial

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## Okonjo-Iweala spent \$2.1bn without approval, says FG

Page 2

• Oshiomhole, El-Rufai, others to probe NNPC, ECA accounts



• Bank customers in the queue to register for Bank Verification Number at a Guarantee Trust Bank branch in Koto, Abia State... on Monday. Photo: Saheed Oluogbon

**BVN: Customers besiege banks, CBN rules out deadline extension** -Page 29

**Aso Rock conducts audit of security personnel**

Page 3

**APC tells Buhari to discard PIB, review subsidy**

Page 29

**We killed ex-FUTA VC to steal his jeep**  
-Suspect

Pages 4 & 5



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## Financial Vanguard

## Cover Story



**MEETING** - From left: Asiwaju Solomon Onafowokan, Chairman, Coleman Wires & Cables; Mr. Taiwo Adeoluwa, SSG Ogun State; Mr. Segun Ogunsanya, MD/CEO, Airtel Nigeria; Prof. Ganiyu Olatunde, Chief of Staff, Ogun State; and Otonba Bimbo Ashiru, Ogun State Commissioner for Commerce & Industry, during a Breakfast meeting with Governor Amosun organized by the Ogun State Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Abeokuta.

## Parties spend N4.9bn on political adverts

*Continues from page 21*

The AAAN members observed with great concern the spate of unhealthy smear campaigns by the political parties and shadow interest groups across the various media channels.

AAAN said: "In obvious disregard of the advertising code and ethics of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria, APCON, a body saddled with the responsibility of regulating and controlling advertisement in the country, and the AAAN, most of these political advertisements have been exposed without going through the vetting procedures and consequent approvals from the Advertising Standards Panel, ASP, of APCON.

"Our concerns are that the professional values of the advertising practice and indeed, public sensibilities, as well as the very stability of the polity have been severely undermined by the continued character assassinations, wanton abuses, unrestrained attacks, threats and counter-threats that have become the bane of political communication building up to the elections," AAAN said in a release.

Kayode Olagesin, Managing Director of Towncriers, an activation agency said: "There is no time in the history of the country that we have witnessed this volume of campaigns. I tell you, I don't see them spending less than N5 billion on each of the presidential candidates.

"If you look at the way they have used the press, wrap around that costs millions, there are lots of heavy charges paid, lots of them up to N20 million for one material, five or more pages of newspapers in a day, and you have several days in a week, I tell you, they have spent billions, but the truth is that it is difficult to know

*The truth of it is that it is difficult to know exactly how much they are spending*

exactly how much they are spending. Mind you, the spending still continues, so you do not know yet, may be after the whole campaign, you can sit down and calculate and put some figures to it.

"What is more interesting is to find out what portion of the advertising materials that passed through professional advertising practitioners in Nigeria. I daresay, a lot of it did not pass through the professional advertising practice. So it will not, therefore, have added that much value to the revenue of advertising agencies in

the country." He went on to say that the impact on advertising agencies is minimal through third hand or second hand, passing to the agencies. "I do not think agencies are on the table, the strategy and the energy are disbursed to agencies outside. I think a few agencies in Nigeria are actually having those direct contracts with political parties. We should urge the political parties to do what is right; to appoint proper Nigerian agencies to run their campaigns. That is what needs to happen.

"I do not know the elements of it that are produced and done outside. I don't know the details of that, but I know that the direct contact have not been given to Nigerian advertising agencies, a lot of them are given to people who are probably politicians to help them broker it through first, second or third party agents," he stated.

On the other hand, the OAAAN, on their part, said all political adverts posted on their billboards were duly vetted by APCON's ASP.

Also disturbed were state regulatory agencies. For example, the Oyo State Signage and Advertisement Agency, OYSAA, complained that adverts posted in different sites and unauthorised places, including lamp poles around the city, is a flagrant breach of the extant laws and regulation of the agency.

This, however, prompted the Director-General, Mr.

*Continues on page 23*



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## Vocation & technical education – A key to improving Nigeria's development

Technical education is a planned programme of courses and learning experiences that begins with exploration of career options, supports basic academic and life skills, and enables achievement of high academic standards, leadership, preparation for industry-defined work, and advanced and continuing education. Vocational education and training prepares learners for careers that are based in manual or practical activities, traditionally non-academic and totally related to a specific trade, occupation or vocation. In other words, it is an "education designed to develop occupational skills."

Vocational and technical education gives individuals the skills to "live, learn and work as a productive citizen in a global society."

Technical and vocational education has been an integral part of national development strategies in many societies because of its impact on productivity and economic development. Despite its contributions the leaders of Nigeria have not given this aspect of education the attention it deserves, and this is one of the reasons for the nation's underdevelopment. This article focuses on the dearth of skilled technical and vocational manpower in Nigeria and argues that technical and vocational education holds the key to national development.

Every facet of the economy has been affected by lack of skilled technicians. The financial sector lacks technicians to regulate the banks and to develop financial

software to properly tackle the rising fraudulent activities in the banking sector. Without security, development is impossible in a society; no nation can sustain its democracy if the citizens lack confidence in the police. The police violate the citizens' human and civil rights and lack forensic laboratory and

fingerprint technicians to conduct criminal investigations. And due to poor training, military officers are known to beat up the citizens who challenge their powers and go scot free for their inhumane actions. The danger posed by environmental pollution and fake drugs is alarming. The less educated in the society lack the skill to manage AIDS, cancer and diabetes among other serious health problems. One wonders what the nation's health minister and the 36 state health commissioners are doing to tackle these issues. Every good citizen is aware that the neglect of technical and vocational education is socially and economically injurious, because it is robbing the nation of the contributions the graduates would make on national development. For that Nigeria is today wearing the toga of a poor state.

Although technical and vocational education seem deficient in 'citizenship or leadership training' (Friedman 1982). It provides students with "life skills to become productive entrepreneurs as it engenders creative and innovative ideas, enlarge the economic pie, and increase personal freedom. Most of the so-called "expatriate engineers" who are being paid millions of dollars to build Nigeria's roads and bridges are graduates of technical and vocational colleges. Yet the leaders do not take technical institutions seriously. Nigeria's current preoccupation with university education reduces economic opportunities of those who are more oriented toward work

than academic. No everyone needs university education. Awarding license to greed organizations and individuals to establish private universities that are not even equipped as some of the technical and vocational school in the United States and other advanced nation cannot develop the society.

*Many graduates lack employability skills, which would easily be acquired from technical and vocational colleges*



## In defence of democracy

TODAY marks an important milestone in Nigeria's tortuous but determined journey into the civilised world of democratic governance. It is yet another period of transition, where one democratically-elected government is handing over, peacefully, to another, something that has always been at a premium in this part of the world.

Continued on page 42

FRIDAY, MAY 29, 2015 VOL 39 NO. 20,931 www.punchng.com

The Punch Newspapers

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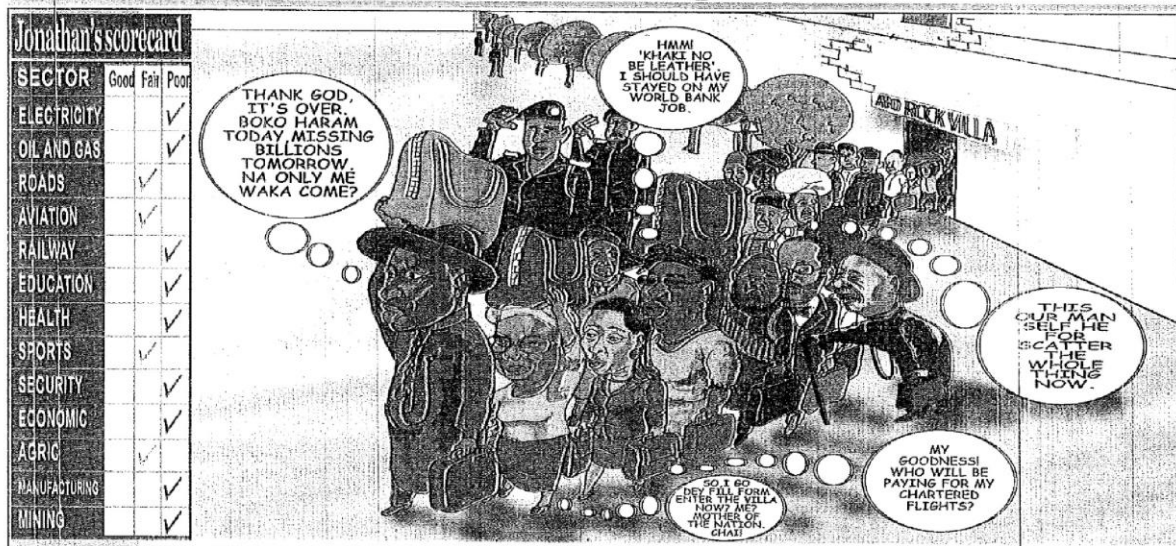
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N150

# Abuja agog for Buhari

Pages 2 & 3

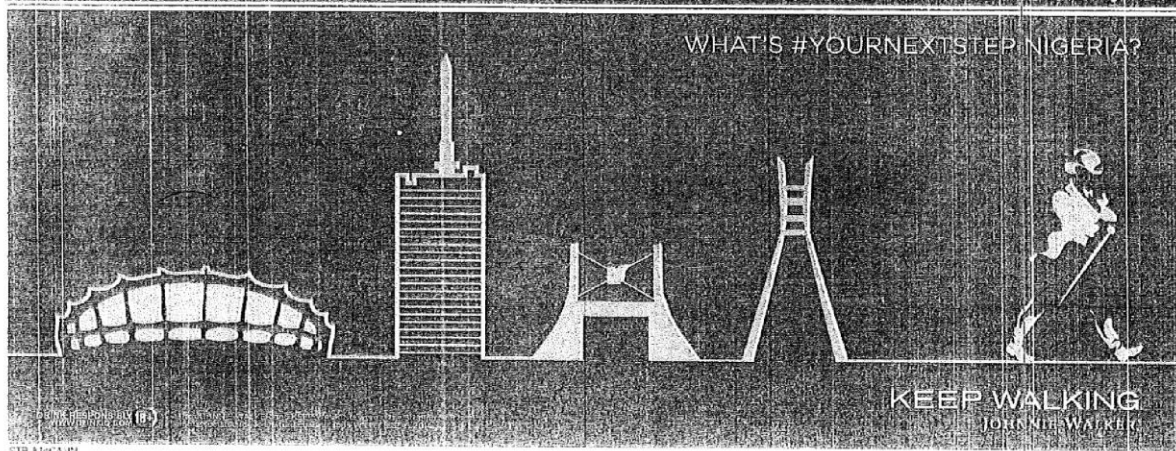
- World leaders arrive for inauguration
- President-elect tours Villa, gets handover notes



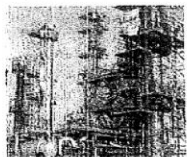
Adesina emerges African Development Bank president P. 52

N360m debt: Policemen beat protesters at PDP secretariat P. 12

Jonathan's guards harass, detain PUNCHman in Bayelsa P. 8



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Gasp For  
Breath



# The Guardian

Conscience, Nurtured by Truth

Vol. 31, No. 13,218

Sunday, March 8, 2015

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N300

## Worrisome Lapses Mark INEC's Test Of Card Readers

- Card Readers Fail To Recognise Fingerprints
- The Facts Have Spoken For Themselves - PDP
- Service Chiefs, INEC Assure Of No Further Postponement

By Our Reporters

DESPITE the controversy over the deployment of electronic card reader machines for the conduct of the March 28 and April 11 elections by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the electoral management body, yesterday, went ahead to test run the card readers in selected states, in order to ascertain the fitness of the machine for the election. Reports from some of the states showed it was a mixed bag, as marginal success were recorded in some places and in others, it was outright disappointment for prospective voters, whose fingerprints were not recognized by the machines.

In Ebonyi, where the exercise took place in 24 electoral units of Izzi Uhu ward of Abakaliki local government, it ran amid com-

plaints by some voters that their thumb prints could not be recognized by the card readers to match what was in the register of voters.

While verification of permanent voter cards was successful in most cases, authenticating the same cards through finger print resulted in hiccups and this was very much defined at Nkaliki Echara Primary School 2, UNIT 010, where out of about 20 voters verified, only about four were authenticated successfully.

At Edukwa Inyimagu Hall, when The Guardian visited also in Abakaliki, only two voters were successfully authenticated out of the close to 67 persons that were verified, with the card readers beeping, "verification failed" as prospective voters placed their fingerprints on it, even when their pictures and names were located on the electronic register.

In a bid to address the challenge thrown up by the card readers, INEC officials were forced to use detergent and water to wash dust off the fingers of the voters before allowing them to place their fingers on the card reader machine, which also did not help matters.

Reacting, the Resident

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



SHOW OF  
STRENGTH

President Jonathan, demonstrating fitness at a solidarity rally in his support by members of the PDP, sports men and women, the physically challenged, yesterday at Abuja

## Sijuade, Ife Monarchs Endorse Jonathan's Re-election Bid

• Prays for President's  
SUCCESS

From Mohammed Abubakar, Ife-Ife

THE re-election bid of President Goodluck Jonathan got a major boost yesterday, as the Ooni-in-Council unanimously gave its total support for the President to continue in office.

In demonstration of their commitment, the Council, led by the Ooni, Oba Okunade Sijuade held series of prayers for Jonathan.

At the palace of the Ooni, where he went to seek royal blessing and support for his re-election in the March 28 Presidential poll, 'the President addressed some of the issues that have dominated his discussions with leaders and major stakeholders in the Southwest.

The issues addressed include the skewed political

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

### NEWS 2

Maiduguri  
Multiple Blasts  
Kill 55, As Army  
Recovers Two  
More Local Gov'ts

### NEWS 3

APC One-Million  
Man March  
For Buhari

### NEWS 5

**Election:**  
Osinbajo Urges  
Nigerians  
To Support Use  
Of Card Readers

...DAY 328  
**BRING  
BACK  
OUR GIRLS**

Germanwings crash  
co-pilot may have had  
detached retina  
-Page 10

Communities urge FG's  
intervention in Niger Delta  
biodiversity conservation  
-Page 47

Expectant mother kills  
husband for opposing  
Buhari  
-Page 71



Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Prof. Attahiru Jega (left); Commissioner in-charge of Information, Chris Iyemoga, and INEC Commissioner, Mr. Mohammed Hammanga, during Jega's press conference on the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly Elections in Abuja... yesterday.

PHOTO: NAN



President Goodluck Jonathan at the Aso Villa Chapel to mark the Palm Sunday... Yesterday

PHOTO: PHILIP OJISUA

## INEC disowns 'election results' in social media

From Muhammed Abubakar, Collins Olayinka, Nzehe Ezeocha (Abuja) and Bertram Nwannekanma

THE Presidency and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), yesterday, urged Nigerians to disregard election results being published in the social media.

Describing the results as fake, INEC Chairman, Prof. Attahiru Jega, said the media would be part of the re-

- Collation starts 12 noon today
- Results expected in the evening, says Jega
- Ekiti's is the only authentic result, Presidency insists

sult collation scheduled to begin at 12 noon today. The venue of the collation, according to Jega, is the International Conference Centre, Abuja. Speaking at a media briefing in Abuja, he explained

that, while it is not an offence for Nigerians to share scores by contestants among themselves as obtained during collation at the state level, it is an offence to use such scores to declare winner of the elec-

tions. His words: "I know that the presidential election results in Ekiti have been collated, and normally when these results are collated, the observers and everybody who is there will know

the result. But what the law prohibits is for people to begin to announce a winner. If you know which candidate got what number of votes in Ekiti and you share it that is not a problem. "Where the problem

emerges is when you begin to declare a winner by virtue of the number of votes you have got. So, people

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

...DAY 350

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N150

**Election held in Rivers, INEC insists** → 50

**ECOWAS declares presidential polls acceptable** → P.8

## POLLS: Tension as results trickle in

- Gov Aliyu loses Senate seat
- Mark, Ekweremadu return



By Our Reporters

**L**AGOS — THE nation was in suspense, yesterday, as results from last Saturday's presidential and National Assembly elections continued to trickle in.

At press time, only Ekiti and Osun States had fully declared results of the elections.

Continues on Page 2

### PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

#### EKITI

Ilejemeje:	APC-3,799;	APC-3,000.
Ekiti South West:	PDP-10,220;	APC-7,195.
Efon:	APC-3,103	
Irepodun/Ifeleodun:	PDP-5,699;	APC-3,103
Oye:	PDP-11,895;	APC-7,970.
Emure:	PDP-6,822;	APC-8,574.
Ikere:	PDP-14,091;	APC-5,353.
Ekiti West:	PDP-10,003;	APC-7,990.
Ado:	PDP-25,419;	APC-8,001.
Ikole:	PDP-13,306;	APC-14,414.
Gbonyin:	PDP-8,792;	APC-10,026.
Ekiti East:	PDP-11,922;	APC-6,334.
Moba:	PDP-8,687;	APC-8,274.
Ise/Orun:	PDP-9,158;	APC-7,492.
Ido/Osi:	PDP 12,479;	APC 5,675.
		APC 7,433.

#### OSUN

Boluwaduro:	APC-5288;	PDP-4413.
Egbedore:	APC-9577;	PDP-6507.
Ila:	APC-11576;	PDP-7647.
Boripe:	APC-12152;	PDP-7457.
Ife North:	APC-8369;	PDP-7921.
Ife South:	APC-9793;	PDP-9283.
Ife East:	APC-12513;	PDP-15532.
Olorunda:	APC-23,342;	PDP-7958.
Atakumosa West:	APC-6639;	PDP-4734.
Ife East:	APC-12513;	PDP-15532.
Odo Otin:	APC-13351;	PDP-10230.
Isokan:	APC-10187;	PDP-6974.
Oroin:	APC-8466;	PDP-6360.
Atakumosa East:	APC-6639;	PDP-4734.
Ifeleodun:	APC-17040;	PDP-9847.
Irepodun:	APC-12485;	PDP-7750.
Ayedaade:	APC-13560;	PDP-9466.
Olaoluwa:	APC 8125;	PDP 5910.

#### KANO

Kibiya:	APC-23,000;	PDP-4,999.
Gabasawa:	APC-31,000;	PDP-8,840.
Bagwai:	APC-38,750;	PDP-8,159.
Kunchi:	APC-24,542;	PDP-2,921.
Tsanyawa:	APC-32,662;	PDP-4,819.
Gaya:	APC-38,085;	PDP-1,888.

#### OGUN

Odeda:	APC-11,102;	PDP-4,456.
Imeko Afon:	APC-7,657;	PDP-12,153.
Sagamu:	APC-15,761;	PDP-17,263.
Ijebu Ode:	APC-14,043;	PDP-8,972.
Remo North:	APC-6,164;	PDP-9,278.
Ewekoro:	APC-9,626;	PDP-3,227.
Obafemi-Owode:	APC-15,207;	PDP-5,786.
Ijebu North-East:	APC-7638;	PDP-6163.
Adoogboolu:	APC-11623;	PDP-11405.
Abeokuta North:	APC 21213;	PDP 5,742.

#### OYO

OYO WEST:	APC-16,431;	PDP-5,381.
ATISBO:	APC-9,090;	PDP-6,392.
SAKI WEST:	APC-7,208;	PDP-5,368.
ATIBA:	APC-16,755;	PDP-6,443.
IWAJOWA:	APC-8,715;	PDP-7,389.
ONA ARA:	APC-12,291;	PDP-7,175.
IBARAPA EAST:	APC-10,482;	PDP-7,009.
IDO:	APC-17,235;	PDP-6,538.
OLUYOLE:	APC-19,642;	PDP-6,956.
KAJOLA:	APC-14,538;	PDP-11,045.
AFIJIO:	APC-8,001;	PDP-5,738.
OOLOPE:	APC-9,425;	PDP-5,384.
IREPO:	APC-10,380;	PDP-4,979.
ITESIWAJU:	APC-7,257;	PDP-7,605.

Continues on page 5

**Three INEC staff killed in Benue** → 7

**Woman stabs husband to death over PDP, APC presidential candidates** → 6

#### COLUMNISTS:



**Move on, Nigeria** → P.19



**Guess who is dollarising the economy!** → P.44

#### Mr & Mrs

THE MAN SAID IF HIS CANDIDATE WINS, EVERY WOMAN ON THIS STREET WILL GET A JUICY POSITION IN GOVERNMENT



IN POLITICS, VERY FEW PEOPLE GET THE JUICY POSITIONS. OTHERS GET PACKETS OF ORANGE JUICE!

dadaadexa@yahoo.com

MAI DUGURI BLASTS

# Scores feared dead > 7



SUNDAY Vanguard, MARCH 8, 2015—Page 3

## ANK PLC

Bank Street, Victoria Island, Lagos

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2014

The abridged/summary financial information are derived from the full financial statements for the year ended 31 December 2014 from which these abridged/summary financial

### STATEMENTS OF FINANCIAL POSITION

	Group 2014	Group 2013	Bank 2014	Bank 2013
President Goodluck Jonathan	752,580	603,851	728,291	587,793
Morning Walk/Jogging	295,297	579,511	253,414	585,066
Yesterday. Photo by Abayomi	151,746	6,930	151,746	6,930
	5,888	256,729	470,130	249,524
	268	2,681	16,896	-
	1,251,355	1,580,250	1,126,550	1,126,550
	30,454	-	4,749	-
	-	92,832	212,523	-
	-	33,003	24,375	-
	-	90	80	-
	-	31	31,415	-
	-	-	57,364	-
	-	-	3	-

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\*\*MARCH 8, 2015

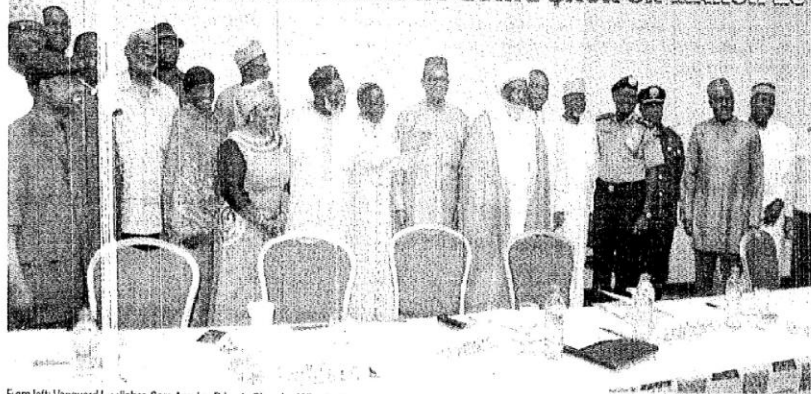
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Inside Animasaun—P10 Sobowale—P10 Iredia—P11 Anele—P11 Debbie—P12 Bunmi—P24 Arbisala—P59

# INEC mock poll exposes Card Readers' flaws

• We are worried over lapses — PDP

PEACE COMMITTEE ON POLLS: NO GOING BACK ON MARCH 23



From left: Vanguard Publisher, Sam Amuka; Primate Church of Nigeria Anglican Communion, Nicolas Okoh; Special Adviser to the President on Inter Party Relation, Senator B in Obi; Prof. Justice Rose Ukeje; APC Deputy National Chairman, Senator Shuabatu Lawan; Chairman of National Peace Committee on General Elections and former Head of State, Abdulsami Abubakar; Bishop Matthew Kukah; Air Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe; Sultan of Sokoto, HRH, Sa'idu Abubakar; Cardinal John Onyiah; INEC Chairman, Prof. John Ige; Inspector General of Police, Suleman Abba; Chief of Defence Staff, Air Chief Marshal Alex Badeh; PDP National Publicity Secretary, Chief Oluwa Melu; and others during the National Peace Committee on General Elections meeting in Abuja, yesterday. Photo by Gbemiga Olanikan. See story on page 6

By Oluasunkanmi Akoni, Vincent Ujmadu, Charles Kumolu, Gbenga Oke, Gbenga Ariyibi, Peter Okutu, Suzan Edoh, John Mkom, Davis Iheanachor, Jude Opara and Festus Ahon

The test run of the Card Reader Machines proposed for the forthcoming general elections, carried out in 12 states, yesterday, exposed the flaws in the new voting technology introduced by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

Significantly, the machines failed to recognise

Continues on page 5  
(See story of the week for details on pages 48, 49 & 50)

**Why Igbos will vote for Mr. President** > 37  
—Ohanaeze leader, Joe Nworgu  
• As Oni leads endorsement from Yoruba Obas > 7

**RUMBLE IN THE PALACE**  
Jonathan's re-election bid turns Bini chiefs against one another > 38

**Buhari's time was the golden era of the oil sector**  
— Olorunfemi, ex-NNPC boss > 36

**Butcher Ibrahim, crippled by police bullets, cries for help!** > 25

**SARGE**

THE KEY TO THIS CELL WAS MISPLACED AND YOU WANT ME TO ASSIST YOU, WHY ME?

OUR RECORD SAYS YOU BROKE INTO A BANK AND OPENED A 20 INCH SOLID STEEL SAFE WITH A SAFETY PIN!

dadadzkola@yahoo.com  
08052201913



## 2015 Election: West African Scholars Debate Campaign Funding In Lagos

**By Ikuchukwu Omyeuehi**  
**THE** Academics Stand Against Poverty (ASAP), a non-profit organisation, will, on Tuesday, January 27 hold a one-day symposium on campaign funding at the main auditorium of the University of Lagos, UNILAG, Akoka, Lagos.

The symposium is the maiden edition of ASAP (West Africa Chapter) and is

expected to bring together academics, human rights activists, development practitioners and public affairs commentators to debate the impact of political corruption on development in Nigeria.

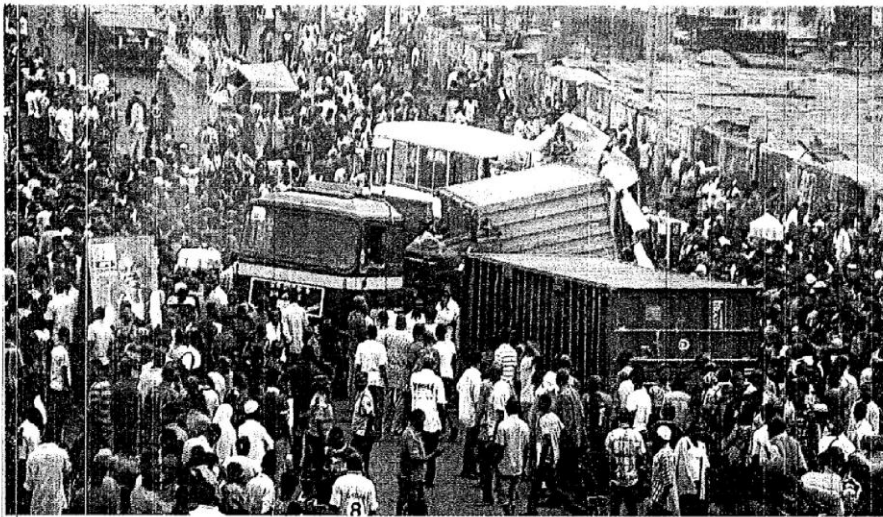
According to Drs Ismail Ibraheem and Adepoju Tejumaiye of the Department of Mass Communication, UNILAG,

the Co-Chairs of ASAP West Africa, in a statement, "the ASAP is a response to the unimaginable poverty plaguing Africa, particularly in the midst of abundant resources Africa possess."

The keynote speaker at the symposium is Akin Oyebo, a Professor of Law and Jurisprudence at the University of Lagos. Other

notable speakers include: Professor Thomas Pogge of the University of Yale, Mr. Femi Falana, Dr. Femi Aribisala, Mr. Femi Fani-Kayode, Alhaji Lai Mohammed of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and his counterpart at the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Mr. Olisa Metu. The organisers said, "There is absolutely no reason why

Africa should be wallowing in poverty. The problem of Africa includes bad leadership and corruption. ASAP West Africa, taking a cue from ASAP Global, is poised to engage stakeholders, including governments at all levels, in developmental issues on how to go about reducing or eliminating poverty in the lives of Africans.



Scene of a multiple accident on Ketu-Ikorodu road in Lagos...yesterday

Credit: NAN

## Jonathan Assures Of Self-sufficiency In Oil Palm Production By 2016

**By Joke Falaju, Abuja**

**WITH** private investment in the oil palm production growing to the tune of N45 billion and over 70,000 hectares of new oil palm plantation springing up across the country, Nigeria may become self-sufficient in oil palm production by 2016, President Goodluck Jonathan has assured.

Jonathan who gave the assurance during the Agricultural Festival held yesterday at the Eagle Square, Abuja said government activities are now

**Provides N26 billion For Dry Season Farm**

geared towards revamping the oil palm industry, with a view of supporting the private sector to build new refineries to process crude palm oil produced in the country.

While expressing satisfaction in the role private companies like Okomu, Presco, PZ-Wilmar and Wilbar oil are playing in revamping oil palm plantations across the country, he disclosed that the federal government had provided 9 million sprouted

nuts of high yielding oil palm seedlings for all farmers across the country. To further boost food production in the country, President Jonathan also announced plans to release N26 billion towards the 2015 Dry Season Farming Programme. Attributing the stable prices

of food in the country despite economic challenges to increase food production, he noted that country was producing more food than ever before as the national food production has expanded by 21 million metric tons within three years and the food import bill has declined from N1.1 trillion in 2009 to N634 billion in 2013.

The president further said that with increasing investment by the private in the fertilizer sector to the tune of \$5 billion (N900 billion) there are indications of a drastic reduction in the price of fertilizer, he said "the new investment will make our nation to become self-sufficient in fertilizer production, and turn into a net exporter of fertilizer."

## Council Boss Condemns Revenue Sharing Formula

**By Laolu Adegani**

**THE** Executive Chairman of the Alimosho LCDA of Lagos State, Hon. Jelili Suleimon has condemned the current revenue sharing formula between the federal, state and local governments in Nigeria. Suleimon in an interview with the Guardian criticised the way federal government allots about 48.5 percent of the total revenue, leaving the remaining percentage to state and local council government to share.

He said the development would continue to be a mirage at the grassroots level unless Nigerians demand for amendment of the current sharing formula.

He questioned the rationality of allocating 48.5 percent of the total revenue to federal government when there are many challenges facing the federating units. Suleimon said the review of the current sharing formula is imperative in order to foster development in

**By Anieto Akpan, Calabar**

**THE** Calabar zone of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) has accused the management of the Lagos State University (LASU) of victimising members of the union for protesting against alleged maladministration in the university. The zone accordingly warned against possible breakdown of academic activities nationwide.

**From John Ayuba, Lokoja**

**THE** Kogi State Chapter has vowed to continue the strike action whenever the national branch decides to call off.

The state chapter anchors its reason on the state government's refusal to accede to its

**Calls For Urgent Govt Intervention**

as the crisis in Lagos State University deepens, saying "we believe that without this being done, the situation in LASU will deteriorate to the level that meaningful academic work would no longer be guaranteed."

**Kogi Health Workers Vow To Continue Strike**

demand. Speaking to journalists in Lokoja yesterday, the state chairman of Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria, Mr. Onuh Edoka said Governor Idris Wada is hiding under the national strike to overlook their demands. "As we speak now there are two

terday jointly signed by the Coordinator of Calabar Zone of ASUU, Dr. Kings Ogar and Zonal Secretary, Dr. Charles Obot further claimed the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Prof. John Obafunwa claim members of the Union in LASU are being 'unduly punished for championing the cause of the people'.

strikes in Kogi State, the national strike and the state strike where all the state workers and local government are on strike. "But any day the national strike is called off Kogi State workers would continue their strike because we had issues with the government to which they have refused to attend."

## Ndokwa East Council Boss Ta Security Operat

**A**HEAD of next month's general elections, security operatives in Ndokwa Council have been asked to come up with more effective strategies aimed at taming the prevailing instability and security and prosperity of the populace.

Chairman of Ndokwa Local Government Nkechi Chukwurah, charged while addressing Heads of Security at a meeting at Aboki, the council headquarters.

Mrs. Chukwurah urged security chiefs to adopt the called proactive measures aimed at stalling the breakdown and order before, during and after the elections.

She explained that the council authorities would erate any act of violating the polls and political gladiators, a erstwhile prevalence to exhibit the degree of civility, respect and decorum before and after the election.

She explained that the meeting was in the need to re-assess security situation in with a view to fashion strategies capable of mending acts as likely to mine the security of

## Tigo Opens Applications For Tech Start-up Business

**By Eniola Daniel**

**A**FIBER a first success, Rwanda tech incubator and its call for application the 2nd cohort acc program in Rwanda. In a press release available by the co. Public Relations Manager, Pierre Khesaid, Think, in round, seeks to exceptional tech; develop innovative solutions for Africa will be for the p month, accelerator gram in Rwanda. Think, in partners Tigo Rwanda and launched in Octo with companies from more than 15 nations from 20 including Nigeria.

on the success of a gural program, 11 select up to five ventures through a con selection process.

Selected companies have access to all o resources including investment from structured training, coaching, Tigo's technical support and support in a external investors. tomers. After the incubation period, they are expected to position to drastic their operations have the opportunity for addition ment.



## Jonathan's famous quotes

•If by default somebody wins the election, of course, I will go back to my village (Otuoke). The country is not my father's estate.

•My ambition is not worth the blood of my Nigerian.

•They are making provocative statements that will set this country ablaze. How can someone tell me that such people are senior citizens? They are not senior citizens and they can never be. They are ordinary motor park tents.

•Yes, we have cases of corruption but it's not as bad as people make it to be. Yes, we have cases of stealing; I always say it that, call a thief a thief. I am not saying that Nigeria doesn't have an element of corruption or stealing.

•I promised the country free and fair elections. I have kept my word. I have also expanded the space for Nigerians to participate in the democratic process. That is one legacy I will like to see endure.

•I did not say that I will not contest in 2015. I said if Nigerians agree to that, I may not be involved. I did not say I will contest or not. Those who said I have signed an agreement, they should show the agreement.

•Is it now that Buhari cannot even remember his own phone number that he can change the economy of the country?

•So for ministers and aides who served with me, I sympathise with them, they will be persecuted. And they must be ready for that persecution.

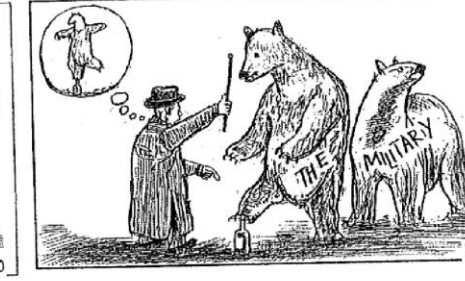
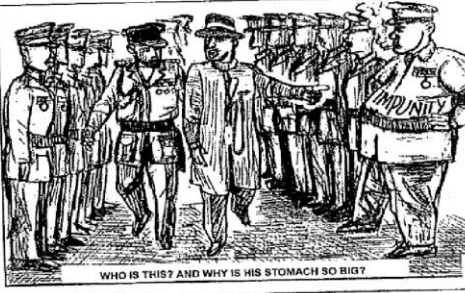
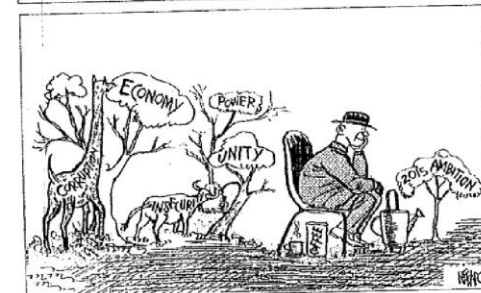
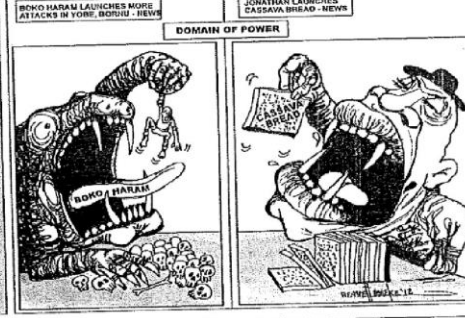
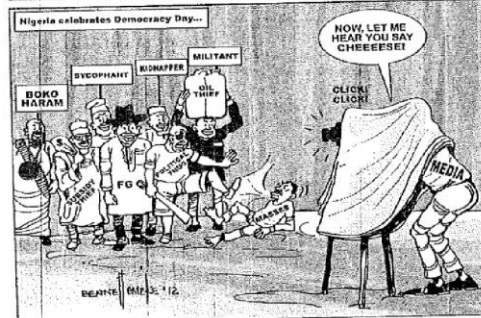
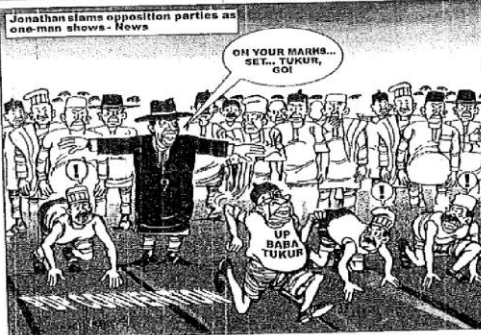
•You can't negotiate with somebody you don't know, nobody has claimed knowledge of the abduction. Even on the social media that the Boko Haram uses to show what they have done.... As regards these girls, we have not seen such. Even the spokesperson for Boko Haram has not come to tell Nigerians that they did the kidnapping. So, the issue of negotiation has not come up.

•The Niger Delta militants approach was quite different from that of the terrorists (Boko Haram). The Niger Delta militants were not terrorists. I am not trying to defend them because I am from there.

•Terrorism is not a phenomenon that a state of emergency of one month, six months and one year will solve; except occasional terror.

•I am not saying there is no corruption in the oil sector but the way people are looking at it may not be the real thing.

•People come after you from different angles. Some people will just set up a magazine or newspaper because they want to face one human being.





## 2015 ELECTIONS

## EU monitors arrive in Nigeria ahead of elections

From Abosode Musari, Abuja

The European Union (EU) yesterday said its monitors, under the umbrella of Election Observation Mission, which had started arriving in Nigeria ahead of next month's general elections, are to monitor, without interference, the presidential, National Assembly, governorship and state Houses of Assembly elections.

A statement issued by the EU Press Officer in Abuja, Eberhard Laue, said that the deployment of the Mission was at the invitation of the authorities in Nigeria, adding that "the mission will assess the elections against national law and international principles for elections contained in regional and international law and standards."

He said that nine analysts of the core team arrived in Abuja on January 6, 2015 following an advance team that was deployed during the parties' primaries last November and December. Thirty long-term observers arrived from January 12.

Laue added that a delegation from the European Parliament and EU diplomats in Nigeria would also join the mission on election days.

Head of the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), Santiago Fisas Aixela, a member of the European Parliament from Spain, is due to arrive in Abuja this week.

"The EU EOM's extended presence shows the EU's commitment to the conduct of inclusive, transparent and credible elections in Nigeria. We don't just focus on the election days,

## • Promise to work without interference

but on all aspects of the electoral process, including the arbitration of petitions long after voting is finished", Aixela said.

According to Laue, "The EU EOM will conduct a comprehensive analysis of the entire electoral process. This will include assessing the legal framework, the performance of the election administration, voters' registration, candidates' nomination and politi-

cal parties' primaries, campaign activities, respect for fundamental freedoms, access to and conduct of the media, voting and the counting, announcement and acceptance of results, and complaints and appeals.

"The EU EOM is bound by a code of conduct which requires strict neutrality and no interference in the process. The mission undertakes all its

work in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation. The EU EOM will publish its initial findings in preliminary statements, which will be presented in press conferences two days after each election day. A final report will include recommendations for improvements for future elections."

"The European Union was invited to deploy an observation mission by the Nigerian

authorities and has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The EU EOM is independent from any EU institutions or member states and is committed to remain neutral and abide by the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and the Code of Conduct, as well as the laws of Nigeria."



Lagos State Governor, Babatunde Raji Fashola (SAN) (middle), his deputy, Mrs. Adejoke Orelope-Adefulire (left) and the state's All Progressives Congress (APC) governorship candidate, Akinwumi Ambode, during a press conference to unveil the APC's platforms for campaign drive and fund-raising for the forthcoming elections at the State House, Lagos... yesterday.

## Group wants INEC to set up more PVC collection centres

By Joseph Onyekwore (Lagos) and Lemmy Ughogbo (Abuja)

The Human Rights Agenda Network (HRAN), a network of over 303 non-governmental organisations and human rights activists, has called on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to set up more collection centres for the Permanent Voters Cards (PVCs).

According to the group, more collection centres would ensure that every Nigerian of voting age receives his or her PVC before the 2015 elections.

It said electoral body must ensure that "no Nigerian is unduly disenfranchised by his or her inability to obtain a voter's card."

HRAN in a statement signed by its chairman, Chino Obiagwu and Co-ordinator, Melissa Omene, encouraged its members and the general public to exercise their constitutional right to vote and to exercise this right properly.

It said: "If you have registered to vote but yet to collect your PVC, visit the INEC collection centre located in the area where you were initially registered. The importance of PVC collection cannot be stressed enough. Indeed, failing to collect your PVC provides an avenue for election rigging as corrupt party officials may use your PVC in your place."

## Clergy condemn campaigns of calumny

From Alamma-Ozorunwa Aliu, Benin City

As the campaigns for next month's presidential election continue to generate controversies, the Primate of the Orthodox Anglican Church of Nigeria, Bishop Christopher Umanu, has urged the two major presidential candidates of All Progressives Congress (APC), Maj-Gen. Muhammad Buhari and his counterpart in People's Democratic Party (PDP), President Goodluck Jonathan, to be cautious of their utterances and desist from campaigns of calumny "that seem to be dominating their electioneering."

Speaking with journalists in Benin City on the church's coming event where he would have his coronation as the Primate of the Orthodox Anglican Church in Nigeria and the Archbishop of the church in parts of West and Central Africa, Umanu said personal attacks by the politicians were indications that they were bereft of ideas for the people but insisted that as a clergy, he would not pitch tent with any of them but would be convinced by their manifestoes which he lamented were lacking.

He said: "They approached me few months ago and wanted me to be part of a group praying for one of the presidential candidates and I asked them a question, if I am praying for one, but what about the other. I told them this is a wrong thing to do. They want to corrupt the image of the church. I asked them what about my responsibility because I have responsibility to all of

## NBC cautions broadcasters on polls' coverage

From Kodilinye Obiagwu (Enugu) and Nkechi Onyedika-Ugoeze, Abuja

The Director-General, Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Mr. Emeka Mba, has called on broadcasters in the country to display high sense of patriotism and professionalism in the coverage and broadcast of election campaigns and next month's general elections.

Mba, who spoke at the sensitisation meeting on political broadcasting organised by the Abuja Zonal office of the commission yesterday in Abuja, said that broadcasting is integral to peaceful elections and democracy. It is the responsibility of the NBC as a regulator at this crucial time in our nation's history to emphasise the need for broadcasters to be professional and stick to the Nigerian Broadcasting Code and the Electoral Act as pertaining to broadcasting election campaigns and election results.

"We brought the broadcasters together to sharpen their focus and sense of responsibility. Even though a large number of stations abide by the code, there are still some deviations. "In broadcasting, when you say it, it has gone out and the damage has been done and while you are trying to retract it, the damage may have been done already. We are trying to heighten our sense of professional responsibility at this period. Do not report rumours, double check facts. Broadcasters in the past few months have shown professionalism, and because of

## • Oritsejafor, Southern leaders urge unity, peaceful elections, others

his investment", he said.

In another development, southern leaders have restated their commitment to the unity of the zone as a platform for the continued unity of the nation while pursuing the ideals that hold the different ethnic sections together. Also, they harped on the non-negotiable need for the conduct of a free and fair election and for government to urgently curb the scourge of insurgency in some parts of the country.

At the opening of the two-day fifth general conference of the Southern Nigeria People's Assembly (SNPA) yesterday, the leader of the South-West delegation, Rt. Rev Emmanuel Bolante Gbonigi, proffering a solution to the insecurity in the country, advocated for a meeting between the "SNPA and the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) to discuss the general security challenges in the country and the imperatives of conducting peaceful general elections in 2015."

Also, President, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, has urged traditional leaders to educate their subjects on the need to maintain peace before, during and after the elections.

He asked Nigerians not to give their votes to any politician who speaks the language of violence. Speaking at the meeting organised by the Northern States Christian Elders Forum (NOSCEF) for Christian traditional rulers in northern part of

their subjects and impress it on them that Nigeria is worth keeping together.

He said: "As traditional leaders, you have the respect of your people and also know how to communicate to them effectively. Tell your people that in election, if you don't win today, you will win tomorrow. Nigeria is big enough for everyone to have his own share of this great nation."

In his own paper entitled "2015 General Elections: Ensuring Fairness, Decency and Access in Broadcast Media", Mr. Mark Ojiah urged broadcasters to eschew ethnic and religious politics and inculcate in Nigerians, the spirit of tolerance of all shades of opinion, promote social justice base on the rights and responsibilities of individuals and ensure objectivity and balance in their reportage.

He challenged broadcasters on steps that should be adapted to ensure they play their pivotal role in ensuring the success of the 2015 elections.

In his address, Ekwueme reflected on the activities of the SNPA and reiterated that the unity of the South "is not intended to divide Nigeria or be a vehicle for bifurcation, but on the contrary, southern unity would promote and conduce to greater unity of Nigeria as a whole."

Clark, who harped on and attributed the prevailing unity in the South to the SNPA, said that "the success recorded at the National Conference was essentially a product of our building endeavours."

next month's elections, there is the need to ponder the questions: "What type of Nigeria do we want? How do we vote in the coming presidential election to get the Nigeria we want?" He said we want a Nigeria that is peaceful, united, permanent and progressing.

In a goodwill message, the Chairman of the South-East Council of Traditional Rulers, Eze Cletus Ilomuanya, said: "It is imperative for South to understand who we are, where we are and what constitutes our collective interest."

Raising concerns of a different nature ahead of the elections, Gbonigi said that one grave matter facing the South "is the creation of the suspended 30,000 additional polling units and the reconfiguration of polling units nationwide using the contentious formula of 85 per cent proportional representation and 15 per cent equality of the states by INEC."

The cleric also appealed to politicians and the political parties, not to compromise peace, unity and the territorial integrity of Nigeria by avoiding inciting acts during or after the elections.

On the prevailing threat of insecurity, Gbonigi, while condemning the Boko Haram insurgency and commending the professionalism of the Nigeria Armed Forces, called on the Federal Government to seek the support of the international community to freeze the assets of the sponsors of the terror-

## Timubu, Osinbajo donate cash, others to victims in Kaduna

## • Urge for peace during next month's polls

From Sakona Akhalma, Kaduna

The leader of All Progressives Congress (APC) and former Governor of Lagos State, Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu in Kaduna, donated N10 million to victims of 2011 post election violence in Kaduna.

Tinubu, who said the money was his personal contribution to the sympathetic condition of the victims, appealed to those affected by the unfortunate 2011 election crisis in the state, drawn from both Christian and Muslim communities, to remain prayerful to God and avoid any form of violence before, during and after the 2015 elections.

He asked them to ensure that the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) is voted out of power to give way to what he called the party that knows people suffering and is ready to alleviate their suffering.

He said: "I am making a personal donation of N10 million to Kaduna crisis victims; it is not from APC account, it is from me. It is so that it can cushion your suffering."

"Please, vote for APC. Let's strike a deal: are you ready to vote for APC, and not to vote for PDP. Please, say yes. If you agreed to vote for APC during the election."

To this was a thunderous "yes, yes" from the crowd. We will vote for APC, said Buhari, said

